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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to describe the varieties of English used in two American Indian communities and to examine the effect of language diversity on the acquisition of certain educational skills. The field work was carried out in two Puebloan communities in New Mexico, San Juan and Laguna. The description of selected linguistic structures and the investigation of spoken language influence on particular reading and writing tasks are the main areas of concentration. The introduction gives an overview of the project, discussing the descriptive base of language variation, the educational concern of the American Indians, and the data base used in the study. Chapter 2 presents the cultural context surrounding puebloan forms of Indian English as an integral part in the descriptive facets and educational implications of the study. The description of the spoken language data in Chapter 3 concentrates on San Juan English and Chapter 4 is a comparison of San Juan and Laguna English. Chapter 5 considers in detail the question of spoken language influence on reading and writing in San Juan and Laguna. Chapter 6 concludes with educational implications of varieties of English in the pueblos. (NCR)

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VARIABILITY IN THE ENGLISH OF TWO INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND ITS EFFECT ON READING AND WRITING

National Institute of Education Grant Number NIE-G-77-0006

Final Report

Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian

AND

William L. Leap and Lance Potter

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PREFACE

The research reported here was carried out under contract Number NIE-G-77-0006 with the National Institute of Education, from January 1, 1977 to December 31, 1978. The aim of the project was to describe the varieties of English used in two American Indian communities and to examine the effect of language diversity on the acquisition of certain educational skills. Our concerns here are focused on two Puebloan communities in New Mexico, San Juan and Laguna. In these contexts, we have concentrated on the description of selected linguistic structures and the investigation of spoken language influence on particular reading and writing tasks.

The study undertaken here must be considered a team effort, which combined several different types of interests and backgrounds. For the Center for Applied Linguistics, it brought together the concerns of the Indian Education Program, represented by William L. Leap and Lance Potter, and the Center's ongoing interest in the description of non-mainstream varieties of English, represented by Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian. The combination of these interests with the concerns of the community leaders over the educational achievement of their students motivated the cooperative effort reported here. While the two teams took on different responsibilities, we hope the final product will be useful in light of each team's primary interest.

Initial contact and presentation of the proposal to the appropriate local authorities was carried out by William L. Leap, who laid most of the groundwork for our investigation. The collection of actual language data was carried out under the direction of locally appointed community members. In San Juan, Wilfred Garcia was invaluable in helping the local team get established, and Floyd Correa performed the same function in Laguna. Local data collectors also contributed greatly with their interviews. In San Juan, Florence Lujan, Ida Tewa, Cecilia Atencio, and Peter Aguino agreed to collect representative data for description, while in Laguna, Jean Green, Martha Redhorse, Timothy Thompson, Tony Silva, and Steve Stout conducted interviews for the descriptive study. Steve Stout was also instrumental in obtaining the data for the reading and writing study in Laguna. Ida Tewa and Florence Lujan filled this role in San Juan. Cooperation in Arlington County was graciously offered by Marie Djouadi and the principals and teachers of the schools involved, when it became apparent that some "control" group data would be helpful. It should be obvious that the investigation considered here would have been impossible without the essential contributions of local people. We hope that we have established the precedent for a symbiotic relationship between community members, educators, and researchers.

Chapter One of the report gives an overview of the project, and was written by William L. Leap and Walt Wolfram. Chapter Two gives the sociocultural and historical setting for the study, and was primarily the responsibility of William L. Leap, with editorial assistance by Mary Ann Zima of the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics. Chapters Three and Four present the bulk of the descriptive findings, first giving the structural details of San Juan in Chapter Three, and then giving the comparison of San Juan and Laguna in Chapter Four. This analysis represents the work of Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian, with Wolfram setting forth the introductory framework and both Wolfram and Christian engaging in different aspects of the actual analysis. Chapter Five is concerned with the analysis of reading and writing in the two Pueblo communities (along with a comparison with Arlington County) and was primarily undertaken by Lance Potter. Jeff Phillips assisted in the early stages of tabulation for the reading analysis and Walt Wolfram assisted in some of the final revisions. William L. Leap was responsible for the final chapter, which deals with the educational implications of the study. Final stylistic editing and proofing the manuscript was completed by Donna Christian. Ruby Berkemeyer typed the final manuscript, which is no small undertaking, given the drafts she was sometimes asked to decipher.

Reactions and comments on the final report are welcome and encouraged. There is certainly much more to be said in the study of varieties of English used in American Indian communities and the possible effects of such diversity on education. There are also some interpretations we will have to revise as our descriptive understanding increases. We make no pretense of having the final word, but we hope to have added to sociolinguistic and educational understanding in some small way.

Walt Wolfram
William L. Leap
Co-Principal Investigators
February 1979

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The question of language diversity and education is hardly a novel issue. During the last decade, we have seen considerable attention devoted to sociolinguistic matters. While many descriptive studies of language variation have been completed and extensive discussion of the educational implications of this diversity has been undertaken, many issues remain unresolved. On a broad level, the interest of this study focuses on a more complete understanding of language variation and its effect on the educational process. On a more specific level, we are concerned with variation in the English language codes of American Indian communities and how this variation might relate to basic educational skills such as reading and writing.

A number of sociolinguistic issues can be addressed in the context of these communities, many of which have essential educational import. Both policy and methodological concerns are at stake. As it turns out, however, the educational issues cannot be dealt with apart from a solid descriptive understanding of the linguistic diversity involved. Thus, the descriptive issues are interwoven with the educational concerns, and educational implications must derive from a solid descriptive foundation.

1.1 The Descriptive Base

If we are to examine the effect of language diversity on the acquisition of educational skills, we must proceed from a solid descriptive base of language variation and the particular varieties of English involved. While considerable information now exists on some non-mainstream varieties and there has been some study of American Indian varieties in other contexts, many descriptive concerns still have not been adequately addressed. The particular sociolinguistic history of many American Indian communities opens up a range of possible influences on the English system. For example, Leap (1974:88), in a study of the English of Isleta Pueblo, concludes that:

> The grammatical structure of any specific sentence given in this variety will be characterized by the use of:
>
> 1. Isletan Tiwa grammatical processes
> 2. Grammatical processes common to other alternative English varieties

3. Alternative English grammatical processes employed in contrast to standard language conventions
4. Isletan Tiwa grammatical processes employed in contrast to the standard language conventions
5. Standard English grammatical convention

Native language transfer, second language acquisitional strategies and diffusion from other non-mainstream and mainstream varieties are all among the sources which have to be considered, notwithstanding their potential for synthesis within the emerging system.

For any given community, we need to know how various potential sources like the ones mentioned above have been utilized in the emergence of an English communication code. One of the goals of this particular study is certainly to see what role various language sources have played in the evolution of the English variety. Another sociolinguistic issue in this context is the way in which the English of one community (or variety) compares with that of another community. To what extent can community-specific and more general language characteristics be found in American Indian communities? Is there, in fact, an entity which justifies the current label "Indian English"? Certainly, the foundation for the definition of such an entity has been set forth by Leap, when he described American Indian English in the following terms.

> ...The variety is used by persons in reservation communities and urban Indian enclaves when the Indian-ness of a discussion topic, of the conversational situation, or of the participants themselves needs formal linguistic marking. While such Indian English usage does not preclude simultaneous control over standard English styles, such a diglossic balance is not always affected by all speakers. Frequently, Indian English is the first form, and may remain the only form, of English language expression acquired by the community membership. Since analysis tends to reveal Indian English grammatical and phonological structures as replications of the group's Indian language detail, this acquisition process may involve nothing more than the developing Indian language facility. In this sense, Indian English can be characterized as a means of talking to the outside world (literally) in Indian terms. For this reason (Leap) view(s) Indian English as a continuation of the speaker's native language tradition; in situations where the Indian language itself is no longer a part of the community's tradition which now remains. (Leap, 1975:1)

The scope of Leap's considerations certainly includes much more than structural linguistic detail in working toward a definition of "Indian

English". What we still are in need of, however, is adequate information about linguistic characteristics so we can look at the extent to which such a notion may or may not be justified on the basis of linguistic similarities. Such linguistic comparisons have important theoretical and educational implications. From a theoretical perspective, we need to know about the significance of different language traditions in terms of the formation of theories about English variation. For education, an understanding of similarities and differences across communities is at the base of decisions with respect to educational strategy and materials.

The need for comparative research goes beyond the dimensions of Native American communities. There is important descriptive information to be gleaned from comparing these communities with other non-mainstream and mainstream-speaking communities. How do varieties of Indian English compare with other non-mainstream varieties? Are they similar or different, and if so, in what ways? And precisely how do such varieties compare with the idealized norm of what is commonly referred to as standard English? Here again, there are important theoretical and applied dimensions to the question. Comparative information on a wide range of American English varieties will allow us to understand in more detail the dynamics of language contact and divergence. An understanding of diversity allows us to formulate principles to account for difference between language varieties. On a practical side, such information becomes crucial in examining how such divergence can enter into the acquisition of basic educational skills such as reading and writing.

Not all crucial issues of comparison involve more than one community; there are essential sociolinguistic issues which arise within the context of a single community. One especially significant area for investigation relates to the understanding of language change across generations. Many Indian communities show important differences in the order of language acquisition across generations. For example, older residents may have learned the ancestral language first and then English. In some cases, English may even have been learned after still another language, such as Spanish or a second Indian language. On the other hand, most members of the younger generation have learned English as a first language. This presents an important shift between generations, and it is essential to find out how the variety of English has been affected by this difference across the generations. Leap has indicated that unique varieties of Indian English may be maintained regardless of the order of language acquisition, but there are certain changes which might be expected when English is the first language as opposed to when it is a second language. Here again, the descriptive facts form an essential foundation for pedogogical considerations, as the change must be accommodated within the educational approach to such speakers.

Given the current state of descriptive concerns, the particular communities considered here, Laguna and San Juan Pueblos, seem to be ideal. Both of these communities are relatively homogeneous in terms of their Native American population, with relatively few outsiders living in the communities. In both cases, they are also immediately adjacent to larger, non-Indian communities. Laguna is ten miles east of Grants, New Mexico and San Juan is four miles north of Espanola, New Mexico. Each of the larger cities serves as the commercial and employment center for the Native American communities. Each community has a day school operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and staffed, in part, by persons from the local community. In a number of important ways, these communities are quite comparable. Yet they differ in one way critical to this research: the native language spoken in each community is a member of a language family completely unrelated to the other in its genetic affiliation and quite dissimilar in structural details. Tewa, a member of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family, is spoken at San Juan, while the language of Laguna Pueblo is a member of the Keresan linguistic isolate. San Juan and Laguna are, of course, only two of the communities for which an empirical base is needed for adequate descriptive purposes with respect to the larger question of Indian English. Ultimately, there is a need for a broader representation of the over 200 American Indian communities in the United States. In addition, we are in need of more comprehensive descriptive information on the 15 other Native American communities for which some selective descriptions of their English varieties are available. But, even on the basis of the two communities we consider here, important sociolinguistic principles can emerge--principles which can guide us to a fuller understanding of language diversity and its potential role in education.

1.2 The Educational Concern

The educational failure of non-mainstream groups is American society is well-documented. The concern that leaders and parents within these communities have about educational disparity is also well established. Despite this concern about the existence of inequity, the problems of identifying and understanding the causes underlying educational disparity remain. A recurring issue related to these concerns is the role of language diversity. Basically, the question is how much influence linguistic diversity can have on the attainment of educational skills. The concerns are naturally accentuated with respect to language-related basic skills, such as reading and writing.

The concern that American Indian communities have about education skills and language are also well-established. The National Study of American Indian Education (summarized in Fuchs and Havinghurst 1972:206) determined that Indian students, as well as their parents, accept the need to learn and study in English. (This of course, does not imply that this is an acceptance which excludes the ancestral language of the community.) Furthermore, both students and parents identify the school as the institution charged with addressing this responsibility and providing students access to such information. In a substantive number of cases (94 of 192 districts reporting), "special instruction in English language skills" was identified as the program area requiring the greatest amount of activity.

Since the acquisition of reading and writing is probably the most prominent language-related activity in any educational setting, the development of these skills typically emerges as central to the concerns of community leaders, educators, and parents. Statements of community concern in Laguna and San Juan Pueblos certainly support this interpretation. Little consolation can be taken from findings such as the Coleman report, which indicates that Indian students tend to score higher in achievement tests than some other non-mainstream groups. The fact remains that such students score below the national average in reading and writing skills. Thus, the problem of educational achievement with respect to particular language-related skills persists, and it appears to be as serious today as the Senate hearings on Indian education indicated a decade ago.

By concentrating here on the question of the influence of spoken language on certain selected language-related skills, we do not mean to imply that these are the only, or most important, issues concerning education in American Indian communities. Indeed, there are many issues which go far beyond the limitations of our consideration here and it may turn out that the influence of spoken language on reading and writing is less of an issue than people have made it out to be. We simply maintain here that it is an issue which deserves serious attention. Based on an empirical data base, we may then emphasize or deemphasize the influence of spoken language. The issue needs to be explored, however, since it is so often raised as a crucial problem.

1.3 The Data Base

As indicated in the previous sections, two types of data are necessary in order to examine the possible effect of spoken language diversity on educational skills, such as reading and writing. First, adequate data on the nature of spoken varieties must be gathered and analyzed. Then, performance data on reading and writing tasks must be collected and examined in the light of the descriptive information on the spoken varieties.

Both types of data were collected in San Juan and Laguna Pueblos during the summer of 1977, although initial contact, presentation of the project to the appropriate tribal councils, and approval from local authorities were all established well before that time. Data on the spoken language consisted primarily of spontaneous language interviews (cf. Appendix B) which followed the general format of those in other sociolinguistic surveys, with the adaptation of interests to those found within the communities. In this respect, we were highly dependent upon local consultants, an on-site liaison person designated by the tribal government, and local interviewers. The utilization of community resources in the collection of data was consonant with our concern to obtain the most representative sample and to depart from the practice of representing Indian communities on the basis of one speaker working outside the context of the community itself. The spoken language interviews were conducted with speakers at age levels representing the full spectrum of each community, starting with adolescents aged 10 and extending through speakers over 70. In Laguna, 40 interviews of this type were conducted, and in San Juan 71 were conducted.

All interviews in San Juan were conducted by four locally appointed community members. The majority of the interviews in Laguna also were conducted by four community members, and, additionally, a reading specialist in the Title I program at the BIA school who was not Indian. We attempted to conduct at least five interviews in each of the following age categories: 10-12; 15-19; 20-39; 40-59, and above age 60. For various reasons, this was not always possible, but the samples do represent a broad age range of speakers. These natural conversation interviews lasted up to an hour each, with the actual length of the interview depending on the interest of person being interviewed and the expertise of the local interviewer. While the data base for spoken language is certainly not free from social and technical problems, it is probably more complete than any previous consideration of a variety of English in an American Indian community. To a large extent, this is the result of the cooperative spirit shown by the tribal leaders and their staffs. Local councils understood the need for a descriptive base in order to give serious consideration to language influence on educational skill attainment.

The description of the spoken language data, which concentrates on "San Juan English" in Chapter Three and a comparison of San Juan and Laguna English in Chapter Four, is, of necessity, selective. An exhaustive description is simply unrealistic given the time constraints of the project and the nature of diversity in English. Certain structures were given much more attention than others, which still await analysis. Nonetheless, the descriptive dimensions of Chapters Three and Four are probably more comprehensive than any previous study of Indian varieties of English, particularly in light of the representation of different groups of speakers within the community.

The collection of data on reading and writing took place with the cooperation of the local BIA schools in San Juan and Laguna, and was restricted to students in fourth through sixth grade. This appears to be the level at which disparity between different groups often becomes most acute. At this stage, reading and writing differences between groups can be quite dramatic, so that it becomes a crucial level for investigating hypotheses about the influence of spoken language diversity on language-related educational skills. In San Juan, 23 samples of oral reading were tape recorded and for Laguna, 19 samples were recorded. Preselected texts devised for a larger project on "miscue analysis" at the Center for Applied Linguistics were used for this aspect of the project, with the specific text adjusted to the difficulty level of each student. For the consideration of writing, 66 compositions were collected from Laguna and 10 from San Juan. This was complemented by a "control group" of fourth through sixth graders in Arlington County, Virginia, who read the same reading passages and wrote compositions which were collected for analysis. Project staff realized the need for control group reading and writing samples later in the project when they were confronted with structures which might be hypothesized as unique to the readers and writers in San Juan and Laguna.

Chapter Five considers in detail the question of spoken language influence on reading and writing in San Juan and Laguna. Our primary concern in Chapter Five is a descriptive one, namely, how spoken language may or may not reveal its influence in reading and writing. This description, however, serves as a base for exploring the educational implications of our findings in the concluding chapter.

Utlimately, educational strategies related to language skills must be based on a solid empirical foundation, one which neither under-nor over-exaggerates the significance of spoken language diversity on reading and writing. The history of sociolinguistic investigation has already witnessed both types of excesses. Although the descriptive base we emphasize here may seem one step removed from the current statement of concerns, it is a necessary step toward making informed policy decisions and planning appropriate educational strategies for the community's students. There are no simple answers to many complex educational problems, but we can still demand that an adequate empirical consideration underlie and justify educational policy decisions and strategies. In the chapters to follow, we hope to provide such an empirical base, and thus merge our concerns with those who are responsible for making the ultimate decisions regarding the educational destiny of the current and future generation of students.

CHAPTER TWO

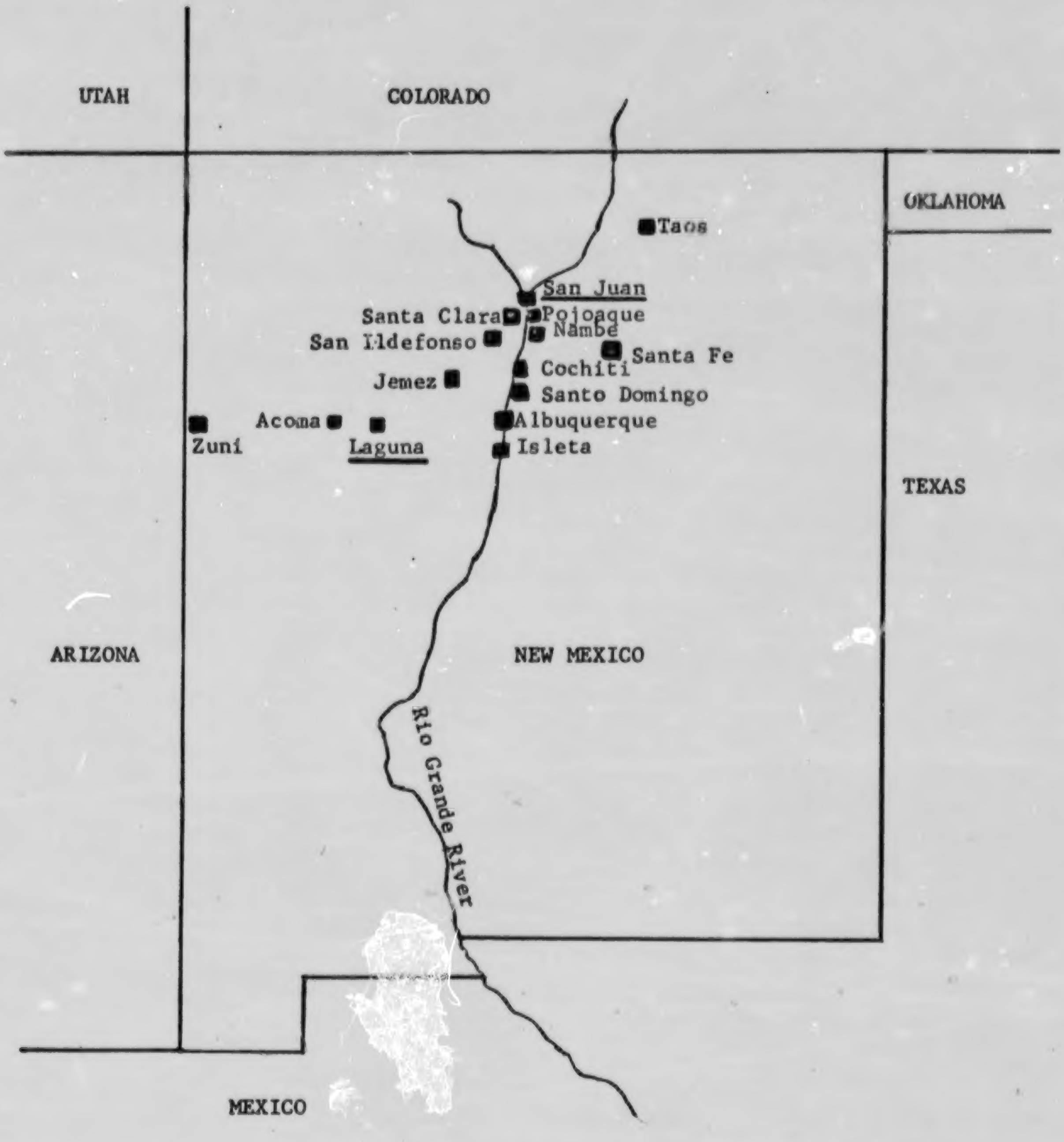
SAN JUAN AND LAGUNA PUEBLOS: THE COMMUNITY SETTING

An understanding of the cultural context surrounding puebloan forms of Indian English is necessary to a clear presentation of the descriptive facts and educational implications of this study. Geographic, historical, and sociocultural issues all play significant roles in this understanding.

2.1 Geography of the Community

As noted earlier, the two pueblos are located in central New Mexico, San Juan approximately 70 miles north of Albuquerque, and Laguna 50 miles to the west. Daily activities of San Juan and Laguna are not confined to the home community or reservation. Cultural and language pluralism are as much a way of life for these people as for Indians of any other geographic region. Each pueblo is situated near a small, predominately Spanish-speaking community--Espanola adjacent to San Juan and Grants near Laguna. Economic and social ties connect each pueblo with its non-Indian neighbor, although residents of both pueblos assert that Albuquerque is preferred for large-scale shopping and business. It is common for puebloans to have relatives or good friends who have moved from the village to the Albuquerque metropolitan area, where employment is available and schools are often judged to be better.

San Juan pueblo lies on 12,234 acres of reservation land, 1,200 of which are used for farming purposes, and has 1,627 persons listed on its tribal rolls, about half of whom currently reside on the reservation. Laguna, in comparison, holds 417,295 acres of reservation land (though only 1,690 are used for agriculture) and has an estimated population of 5,451. In acreage, San Juan is the second smallest reservation in New Mexico and Laguna the largest. It is interesting that this difference in size is not reflected in the amoung of land used for farming--especially given the difference in the reported populations of the two tribes. While all pueblos maintain some degree of agricultural activity, only a handful of persons actually engage in farming as the exclusive or primary source of income. The bulk of the pueblo's economic interests lie elsewhere--for San Juan, in installations at Los Alamos, New Mexico and Laguna maintains on-reservation industries.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Santo Domingo
Acoma
Albuquerque
Zuni
Laguna
Isleta
TEXAS
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
Rio Grande River
MEXICO

Figure 2.1 The Location of San Juan and Laguna Pueblos, New Mexico

Pueblo communities in general are distinct from other segments of the national Indian community in one regard--"home" for the pueblos means the ancestral community, in the cultural as well as geographic sense of the term. The pueblo communities were already well-established political and social entities when the Spanish entered New Mexico. With few exceptions contemporary puebloans live on the land their ancestors occupied when the Spanish first appeared.

2.2 The Historical Community

In 1956, Edward Dozier outlined the main historical periods of puebloan culture, each of which had particular consequences for the language situation. Building on cultural historian Edward Spicer's concept, Dozier used the term "compartmentalization" to characterize the puebloan adjustment to four centuries of western dominance. In Dozier's analysis, the pueblos responded to western pressure by attempting to maintain a clear distinction between western, outside-related activities and their traditionally internal community affairs. That is, various cultural activities became compartmentalized in order to accommodate external pressures. Two lines of governmental authority emerged--the territorial governor and his staff dealt with secular affairs, and the Indian war captain and his staff dealt with "religious" issues. This basic arrangement survived, so that a western religion such as Roman Catholicism could be practiced alongside the Kiva religion and traditional forms of ceremonial observance without apparent incongruence.

Dozier's essay suggests that the influence of compartmentalization is also responsible for the patterns of language pluralism found in these communities. For example, pairs of terms have evolved--one word in the Indian language and the other in Spanish or English--which enable Indians to carry on a conversation which is unintelligible to a non-Indian. Dozier's formulation explains, to some extent, the contemporary generation's retention of its ancestral language in the midst of Spanish and English fluencies.

Dozier's analysis suggests that the San Juan and Laguna communities are best understood if major events are interpreted within the theory of compartmentalization. Dozier himself laid the framework for such an analysis in several subsequent discussions (see especially Dozier 1970).

Table 2.1, taken from one of these essays (Dozier 1961:98), identifies several events supportive of his hypothesis. It should be observed that Dozier places the beginning of compartmentalization in the mid-1700's in a phase he terms "stabilized pluralism". The preceding phase II (exploration and colonialization) climaxed in 1680 when the indigenous laborers united under the leadership of a member of the San Juan community, and succeeded in driving the Spanish out of northern and central New Mexico, and ultimately out of New Mexico entirely.

The Spanish reconquest of the Rio Grande in 1693 put an end to the Indian revolt. Perhaps sensing the need to establish stronger and wider control over the territory, this time the Spanish (led by de Vargas) brought more than a standing army into the Rio Grande valley. As settlements inhabited during the preceding occupation were being revitalized, others appeared quickly, some on the frontier, far from military protection, and others close to areas habitually visited by nomadic Navajo, Apache and Comanche tribes. The ability of the Catholic Church to expand the number and location of its missions in New Mexico during this period attests to the ultimate success of the colonial strategy in this context.

Dozier's chart suggests that the exploration and colonization phase covered a time span of over one hundred years. Overall, the period appears to have been characterized by a shift from military fortification to non-puebloan community as the locus of Indian-Spanish interaction. As sociological interaction between Indians and Spaniards grew increasingly complex, many liaisons formed between the two groups, some casual and some as formal as marriage. This interaction developed despite Indian efforts to remain distinct.

Although Anglo-Americans officially entered New Mexico for the first time in 1804 and the United States gained authority over the area in 1846, locally-based schooling programs and other educational opportunities were not introduced until the 1870's. The events of the Civil War, and the months of controversy which preceded it, as well as the intricacies of a dual population in New Mexico may help explain the delay in federal action regarding education in the territory. Still, it is worth noting that puebloan lands were not given "trust status" (i.e., reservations were not officially created) until 1893. Educationally-related Indian policies

Periods	Events	Contact Communities	General type of change
V Anglo-American	1933 Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1928 Radical changes in Fed. Indian policy 1924 Pueblo Land Act 1913 Sandoval case - legal status of Pueblo Indian defined	Tourists Pueblo day schools Boarding schools Reservations without agents Anglo-American communities	Accelerated compartmentalization economic changes continued compartmentalization
IV Anglo-American intrusion	1881 Railway lines enter New Mexico 1881 Boarding school establ. 1872 Primary schools in Pueblo villages 1869 Indian bureau farmers for pueblo villages 1852 Protestants begin missionary activity at Laguna Pueblo 1849 James S. Calhoun, 1st US Indian Agent 1846 US Occupation of NM 1822 Mexican Independence 1821 Anglo-Am. trade with NM established 1812 Pino's exposición 1804 1st Americans enter NM	Conflict over land w/Hispano and Anglo-American settlers Encroaching Anglo-American settlers Indian bureau agents intrusive	Pueblo resistance and compartmentalization patterns reinforced
III Stabilized pluralism	1776 Fray Dominguez' visitation 1760 Bishop Tamaron's visitation 1737 Bishop Elzacechoa's visitation 1725 Bishop Crespo's visitation	Same as II	Compartmentalization established
II Spanish exploration and colonization	1693 DeVargas' reconquest 1680 Pueblo Indian Revolt 1630 Benivedes' report 1598 Onate, colonization 1582 Espejo expedition 1580 Rodriquez expedition 1540 Coronado expedition	Compact pueblo villages with missions and chapels Spanish settlements	Forced directed culture change Pueblo resistance
I Prehistoric	ca. 1350 Keresan intrusion	Intrusion of Keres settlers into Rio Grande Relocated compact villages	Cultural exchange among Indians

Table 2.1 Stages in the History of the Pueblos (From Dozier 1961:98)

in New Mexico coincide not with the beginnings of reservation life, but with the advent of the railroad.

2.3 The Development of English

The particular history of educational policies in New Mexico is the primary reason why English in the Puebloan community is a relatively late occurring phenomenon. While individual English-speaking settlers established themselves in New Mexico before the Civil War, it was the coming of the railroad (and the related opening of silver mines) which brought English-speaking families to the region in increasing numbers. The English-speaking communities founded by these settlers were located primarily in the southern part of the state, some distance from the puebloan lands. There was ample opportunity for Anglo-Hispanic interaction, and this may have put an informal value on the learning of Spanish by the Anglo settlers--at least to learn enough Spanish to converse on basic topics relating to commerce and trade. Opportunities for interaction with the Indian peoples of southern New Mexico--primarily the several Apache tribes--were more restricted. According to recent ethnohistorical studies by Dubois and Valdés Fallis, however, Spanish rather than English was the language of commerce (see discussion, Dubois 1977:191).

Dubois and Valdés Fallis do not find evidence of the use of English for Anglo-Indian interaction, at least as far as the Apache tribes are concerned, until the 1880s. Additional citations in Dubois (1977) imply, in fact, that English fluency was a linguistic novelty within the Apache tribes' verbal repertoires until after 1900.

The same time frame seems to apply when efforts are made to date the appearance of English fluency within other southwestern Indian tribes--including the Pueblos. Thus, Miller (1970) has written, in regard to the Pima case:

> Apparently there were no Pima-English contacts until the nineteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century the southern route to California passed through Pimeria, although we cannot assume that forty-niners tarried long in the non-gold-producing Pima region. The Mexican War and the Gadsden Purchase brought most of Pimeria into the possession of the United States. Beginning about that time there was an incipient Pima-English bilingualism, and this grew somewhat before American policy relegated Pimas to reservations. From those Pimas involved in negotiations or confrontations with the federal government, there surely developed a small knot of bilinguals, but confinement to reservations undoubtedly put the majority of Pimas into greater isolation from English-speaking contacts than before. While the federal government

> assumed responsibility for their education and made some moves in this direction through the establishment of schools, there is no indication that the schools were widely attended or that children in fact learned English in them. It was not until about 1920 that Pimas can be said to have begun the learning of English to any great extent. (1977:105-6)

Bodine, in his study of Taos linguistic acculturation (Bodine 1968) offered a similar time frame for the introduction of widespread English at Taos pueblo. Working with comparable data for Isleta pueblo, Hutchinson has written:

> ...tribal roll data are seen to demonstrate not only that language preference has shifted from Spanish to English in the last 95 years, but that the shift was not effected until relatively late in Isleta's contact history. (1977:173)

This evidence points to the fact that English fluency reached the puebloan communities at the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century--that is, some three generations ago. In the educational mandate given the boarding schools and the community-based day schools, Indian children were to be "civilized"; this was felt to be accomplished best by the teaching of Christian principles, Christian behavior, and a Christian language. The strong emphasis placed on the development of students' English skills implies that the students were not already familiar with or proficient in spoken English. There exist numerous reports and recollections from parents and grandparents in today's pueblo communities which describe how students were punished for using their Indian language in these schools, where an English-only policy was enforced. In addition, the earliest boarding schools were located far from the students' homes and always enrolled students from diverse and distinctive tribal and linguistic backgrounds. These two facts may have encouraged students to gain familiarity with English, at least on some rudimentarily functional level, as rapidly as possible, for the sake of basic communication. Added encouragement could come from the students' ability to use a language learning strategy similar to the process of creative construction described by Brown (1973) and others. By this process, the speaker uses his first language knowledge as an interpretive hypothesis against which the structure of the second language is (re-)analyzed. This allows the second language structure to become more consistent with the language skills the speaker has already developed, and thereby the second language is more readily acquired. We may also speculate that, in terms of the compartmentalization theory, students may have placed a positive value on the learning of English without displacing the value on the ancestral language within traditional pueblo culture.

The acquisition of English within the boarding school context has been studied in depth only by Malancon and Malancon. Their analysis of final examination essays written by Indian high school students in 1915 at Haskell Institute (Malancon and Malancon 1977) reveals tribally-specific English distinctiveness already present within that population. Different groups revealed a common set of English variables (subject-verb agreement patterning, deletion or addition of articles, pronominal deletion, etc.) but differed in the relative frequency of various features. For example, Creek English differed from Crow English at Haskell in 1915 in that the Creek English speakers used some English variables less frequently and other variables more frequently than did the Crow English speakers.

If we assume that the situation at Haskell was typical of the situation at other Indian boarding schools in the 1880-1920 time period (the first part of Dozier's phase V), then the contribution of these schools in the learning of English in Indian lands is clear: the schools not only introduced students to English, but provided the context from which particular English forms could emerge. Many of these students are now members of the grandparent and great-grandparent generation in today's puebloan communities. The distinctiveness of their English and the impact it has on shaping the English component of the tribe's contemporary verbal repertoire will be explored in subsequent sections. The traditional reliance on grandparents as child-sitters and the numerous opportunities for interaction between grandparent and grandchild during everyday life, especially in an extended-family context, support an ongoing tradition of English variety. Certainly a child could acquire a tribally-specific English code without having previous control over the Indian grammar which underlies the code in its original form. Leap has documented this occurrence within several Indian communities in the West, and the possibility must not be excluded here.

2.4 The Ancestral Language Community

It was noted in Chapter One that the distinction between the ancestral languages of these two communities played a major role in their invitations to participate in the project. The ancestral languages of the two Pueblos are totally unrelated, a fact supported by the comparative vocabulary shown in Table 2.2. The affinity between San Juan Tewa and the languages of Taos, Isleta, Jemez, and of the Kiowa--all of which are designated as members of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family--serves to highlight the unique position of Keresan in the greater Southwest.

		Towa	Taos	Isleta	Tewa	Keres
1.	brother	pabí	pòpóna	pàpáde	padây	dyúmá
2.	to think	pel	pía-	-pie-	-pəpœ	-čidyUstA
3.	rabbit	poláyi	pìwéna	piwíde	puu	rèdya
4.	food	pɔ	pòléna	-kár	koegi	'ubéwí
5.	thigh, leg	pɔthóde	pónema	pá	po	hâ:mani
6.	three	phá'o	póyuo	páčua	poeye	čemI
7.	cloud	phán	phéna	fí	húwá	hénat'I
8.	fire	phídɔ	phá	-fé:	phaa	ka
9.	to blow	phól	phúči	fu(ši)		-(u)pu:cÂ
10.	fur	phɔ	phóna	fá		
11.	water	p'ɔ	p'ò'óne	p'â	p'oe	ćícI
12.	month, moon	p'ɔ	p'óna	p'á	p'oe	dáw̓àcA
13.	to speak	tə	-tû-	-tû-	tu	cIkUyA
14.	mother	kɔ	kána	ke'ide	yiya	nâ:ya (= aunt)
15.	grandmother			nana		
16.	name	khɔgya	xónema	xá		-(á)še
17.	fir tree	k'ol	k'uówona	łiwade/xear		hâ:k̓a:kA
18.	to see	bô	mû	mû	muu	kAčA
19.	to sing	dɔ	yo'onema	čà'áde	kha'wa	-(ý̨y)ùtA
20.	six	mɔ̂sɔ̂	małi	małi	síi	ščícA
21.	deer	t'ap	t'óna	p'i'íde		dyàné

Table 2.2 Kiowa-Tanoan and Keresan Comparative Lexical Items

Trager (1967) and others have used this as a basis for the argument that Keres speakers have been a part of the Puebloan Southwest longer than Tanoan speakers. Irwin-Williams has provided archaeological support for this claim in several publications. Of greater interest to the present report is the fact that the two language traditions are still a viable part of the repertoire of the two respective speech communities. Joe Sando (1976:236) reports 5,631 native speakers of Laguna Keresan, and 1,663 native speakers of San Juan

Tewa. His figures are based on the results of a survey undertaken by the Cultural Awareness Center of the College of Education at the University of New Mexico in 1973. These figures reflect more native speakers than persons on the tribal rolls at both pueblos, underscoring the important role which language plays within the context of community life.

Community life, including language, demands greatest emphasis in any discussion of San Juan and Laguna as "pueblo communities". The two pueblos possess similarities and differences, most of which can be traced to the interpretation given to each tribe's cultural traditions and experiences. The term *pueblo*, often used to identify the nature of the lifestyle, is not a native term to these communities. An inspection of the native terminologies used to refer to these two pueblo communities sheds significant light on the two groups' perceptions of who and what they are.

San Juan is called *oké+owíŋe* by its inhabitants. The word in this name that is translated as "pueblo" -- *owíŋe* -- is derived from the Tewa base, meaning "acting together". As one individual described it, any settlement of Indians whose inhabitants cooperate, who act together for the best interest of all, can be called a pueblo. For this reason, even though a former resident may live in Albuquerque and return to the pueblo only for special occasions, he may still feel a responsibility to assist on those occasions (fiesta days, for instance) in any way that he can. This cooperation is not specific -- it may be governmental, religious, economic, or purely personal, but as long as this cooperation exists, then the settlement may be called a pueblo by San Juan definition.

Thus, when a San Juan talks about any other pueblo, he says that the central village and outlying settlement could each be *owíŋe* -- a pueblo -- since the people there live and work together. The collective governmental unit could also be called *owíŋe*, since people from the various settlements act together in terms of their governing affairs. Likewise, the fact that the Taos cooperate allows the San Juan to refer to Taos as a pueblo; they would not, however, refer to any specific (as opposed to collective) kind of cooperation (as would the Taos themselves) when making that sort of reference. And, while the people of Isleta, Taos and San Juan are speakers of Tanoan languages, the San Juan word for "pueblo" is in no way cognate--in fact, it has no cognate--to the term used by speakers of any other Tanoan language.

Laguna is composed of six major and several additional "minor" village settlements. The distinction here is not one of size as much as one of ceremonial independence: the major villages need no outside assistance to hold ceremonial activities, while the minor villages are dependent on affiliated major villages for such considerations. Regardless of ceremonial standing, however, each village has equal representation on the tribal council and all of the people in these communities are governed by the same elected officials. A person may say that he lives at Mesita, or at Paguate, but he will call himself a Laguna because he is involved in the same governing structure as are all of the people who call themselves Lagunas. Thus, a group of Lagunas living in Albuquerque have decided to hold regular meetings to review the minutes of the weekly meeting of the Laguna Council because they think it is important to be informed on what is happening back home. If the Council or one of the officials takes an action that they do not approve of, they feel a responsibility to react. The "pueblo" of Laguna, then, appears to be an aggregate of people who see themselves bound together by participation in the same governing system.

Community-specific considerations reveal a number of instances reflecting perceptions of each community's distinctiveness. Table 2.3 paraphrases Dozier (1970:192ff) to note selected social differences. These comments pertain only to the respective ceremonial organizations of the two communities. Differences can be identified also in "secular" government. San Juan has retained the traditional practice of designating its governing officials, rather than having these persons elected by popular vote as has become the practice in Laguna. This innovation at Laguna has not caused the secular officials to become less responsive to the wishes of the community in general, nor of the ceremonial leaders in particular. Both communities' concept of pueblo requires an integration of the individual's attitudes with the larger sense of community responsiveness and well-being. Governors and council persons, like teachers and housewives, are not exempt from the scope of that assumption.

Since the time of Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture, much has has been said about the pueblo's emphasis on group harmony and the need for the individual to submerge his own feelings into the "model" Appolonia

Social Features	Laguna	San Juan
lineage and clan	present; clans important in ceremonies	absent
dual organization	Dual division of community into Squash and Turquoise moieties	winter and summer division and related associations
kivas	two, associated with Turquoise and Squash divisions	large and small kiva, associated with communal and moiety activities, respectively
katcina cult	open to village, though not all become members	organized by moiety, membership restricted
medicine societies	several; also coordinate communal activities. Town chief must be a member of one.	two such associations
Hunt association	One association; prays for success in hunting; doctors hunt-related accidents	one association prays for success in hunting; doctors hunt-related accidents
Clown association	two; assist medicine societies and with social control	
Women's association	extinct	one, cares for enemy scalps; good health
Locus of ceremonial and sociopolitical control	Medicine association through council of association heads	Moiety association

Table 2.3 Summary of Differences in Laguna and San Juan

personality type. That perspective, as Goldfrank, Smith, and others have shown, tends to underestimate other patterns of personal interaction which are just as characteristic of community life. External classification systems simply do not do justice to the dimensions of community life and interaction.

2.5 Research Activity and Cultural Contact

It may be appropriate here to review the interaction between the CAL staff and the two communities in terms of the impact which the cultural contact generated by this project had on the research procedure and analysis. It is important to recognize several specific considerations, unforeseen when the project was initially designed, whose presence affected the CAL staff's involvement in the project. These factors will be reviewed briefly.

The four CAL staff members who worked on this project represented a range of experience in terms of previous working relationships with Indian communities. This ranged from staff who had extensive relationships with American Indian communities to a member who had no previous involvement with Indian people. Naturally, expectations and reactions to the contact research situation can be expected to be quite different based on the range of familiarity. On the other hand, while several of the persons designated by tribal authority to aid CAL staff on the project were employed in education-related capacities within the two pueblos, none of the community personnel had formal research experience. During the interview process, some of the data-gatherers were reluctant to venture beyond the formal questions and explore topics of greater interest and relevance to the person being interviewed. This reluctance can be attributed--at the data-gatherers' own suggestion--to a fear that a departure from the questions would constitute a departure from "good science" and adversely affect the nature of the interview data. (After all, if we had wanted a free-ranging interview, why did we provide specific questions to begin with?) The field workers were involved in the project on invitation from tribal government, and thus they felt a responsibility to their own leaders as well as to any personal commitments they might have brought to the research effort.

Thus the Indian English project moved all members of the project staff, both CAL and community personnel, into previously uncharted waters. The ultimate success of the project depended in large part on each person's ability to remain unaffected by events which were not always predictable. CAL staff persons often expressed surprise at the amount of time spent "waiting for" things to happen--the completion of interviews, the start of a meeting, etc. Flexibility in this respect, however, was to be expected by community members, who often have last-minute or unexpected demands made on their free time, have commitments to their families, relatives, tribal or religious officials, or other parties, and cannot be as adaptable to the requests of outsiders as the outsiders might otherwise prefer.

CAL staff had agreed to coordinate all community-based activities through the community liaison designated for that purpose by tribal authority and, further, that the liaison would, under advisement of tribal authority, make all decisions about on-site participation. The data-gathering at neither site could have occurred without the full backing of the puebloan government. The years of anthropological encounter in the Southwest described by Vine Deloria in Custer Died for Your Sins (Deloria, 1969, especially p. 83 and following) have left some Indians highly suspicious of any tape-recorded inquiry initiated or sponsored by outside parties. The endorsement of tribal government was essential to the research effort we proposed. Questions and concerns about the work we were doing could be referred, at our insistence, to tribal authority, and community members could be assured that the tribal government had already taken steps to safeguard their interests in this regard. The ramifications of having tribal support extended far beyond the scope of the initial approval provided in the proposal submitted to NIE. When CAL staff encountered difficulty in carrying out its research activities, the problem was referred to the community liaison, who brought the matter to the governor's attention. The governor then contacted BIA schooling authorities to negotiate a favorable solution. Potential conflict and ill will which could have resulted from CAL's attempting to resolve issues on its own were thus avoided.

Understandably, the motivation for tape-recording language samples of natural conversation in English can be difficult to comprehend for a community resident. The tape recording of reading passages and collection of writing samples from children is somewhat easier to understand, since these are related to specific educational tasks. But the history of surreptitious and disguised research by some anthropologists and educators in Indian communities has certainly not established good faith between researchers and community residents and leaders. Quite legitimately, the recording of natural conversation can raise suspicions. It is simply difficult for any community to understand why someone would desire to analyze language when the analysis is one step removed from practical application. Two procedures adopted by the staff helped stress our exclusive interest in the English language forms. One was the use of respected community members to do the interviewing. These were appointed by the community leaders and could be counted on to be discrete in directing the conversation. The other was the community's ultimate prerogative to "sign off" on the final product. Confidentiality has carefully been preserved, to the point that all names found in cited examples in later chapters have been changed.

Also, CAL's use of these designated channels enabled us to respond in kind and aid the pueblos' residents in ways not always directly related to the project. Such mutually supportive encounters helped reduce anxieties and engender feelings of good will which could only aid in our efforts. It is a critical aspect of puebloan community life that receiving support and services from (in this instance) tribal government and individual community members implies that CAL would itself supply support and services to the tribe. This is not so much an obligation as a responsibility--an action not so much mandated as available. To voluntarily assume the responsibility demonstrates that the outsider is respectful of the linkage extended to him by the community. Such recognition would certainly have a positive impact on the sense of continuity ultimately assigned to that linkage by tribal authority.

Fieldwork within the context of any Pueblo community cannot be viewed casually. The "professional" tie which connects researchers and community residents becomes transformed, placing additional responsibilities both on the researchers and on the persons with whom they are working. The researcher cannot initiate dialogue and expect that someone will set aside all other activities to respond. A community member would not do this with a stranger, because he feels no established relationship which connects both the individuals to the same community context. As a result, a native might withhold information, feeling that facts about his community are of interest only to the community.

Accessibility in the context of the Puebloan community is simply different from some other communities in which sociolinguistic research has been carried out. For example, in other contexts, a researcher may simply go out, contact a person individually and arrange for an interview. The interview is dependent only upon the mutual agreement of the researcher and person being sought for the interview. In the context of the Pueblo, however, a different situation exists. Corporate approval is appropriate, and the approval process may be much more indirect than that considered appropriate in other communities. While such a strategy may require some amount of "red tape", it is the only strategy which can ultimately work to mutual benefit of community and researcher. The community can evaluate the goals and potential benefits of a particular research project in terms of community concerns, while the researcher has access to a representative population necessary for adequate research.

CHAPTER THREE

A DESCRIPTION OF SELECTIVE STRUCTURES IN A VARIETY OF INDIAN ENGLISH: THE CASE OF SAN JUAN ENGLISH

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we consider some actual linguistic structures as found in one representative Puebloan community. A detailed examination of particular structures in representative varieties is necessary as a basis for gaining insight into the dynamics of such systems. Such a descriptive base is also necessary if we are to make valid comparisons of varieties of Indian English with each other and with the range of non-mainstream and mainstream varieties found outside of this context. An adequate descriptive base, then, forms the foundation for valid insight into the nature of varieties like San Juan English and their relations to other varieties.

On one level, it might be justifiable to give an account of a variety such as San Juan English (SJE) simply in terms of its current descriptive status. From this perspective, we might ignore the types of historical influences and language contact situations which gave rise to particular structures and be satisfied with the description of these structures as an end in itself. We might follow the lead of Weinreich, when he suggested:

> When a speakers of language X uses a form of foreign origin not as an on-the-spot borrowing from language Y, but because he has heard it used by others in X-utterances, but this borrowed element can be considered, from the descriptive viewpoint, to have become a part of LANGUAGE X.
>
> (1964:11)

Such an approach would not be unlike the tradition of descriptive linguistics, which was careful to separate synchronic from diachronic analyses. From such a perspective, we could simply maintain that we were describing the contemporary code of SJE without regard to the historical influences which gave rise to it.

Although such an approach might lead to a satisfactory account of the variety in focus, it leaves unanswered important aspects of the dynamic dimension of language contact situations. Ultimately, we would like to address broader issues concerning the nature of language contact situations and the way in which different sources might interact in arriving at the current varieties of English. Beyond a descriptive account of SJE, then, we want to investigate the ways in which various potential sources have been utilized in the shaping of such a variety. As Leap put it:

> The issue in grammatical analysis becomes not the identification of one, or more, sources of input, but an explanation of the dynamic balance made between the various influences within the contemporary code. (1977:10)

A dynamic perspective, then, is concerned not only with the potential sources influencing the system, but how different sources may have been molded into the current code. There is an identification and selection dimension which must be considered in accounting for the system. The essential questions focus on where the structures have been derived and how they are being used in the variety at this point.

The determination of contributing sources and their ultimate utilization within the system involves both theoretical and practical issues. We may start with a theoretical delimitation of the potential sources influencing the system, but, ultimately, we must have a principled basis for choosing between alternative explanations of influence. In some instances, the attribution of source influence for current structures is more readily resolved than in others, given the application of a set of criteria for justifying or rejecting a particular explanation. We must, however, admit that there are cases where the definitive attribution of source influence is elusive for one reason or another. Our failure to attribute source influence for some structures may derive from basic theoretical aspects of the nature of language contact situations or some practical limitations in terms of our current knowledge concerning the potential source influences.

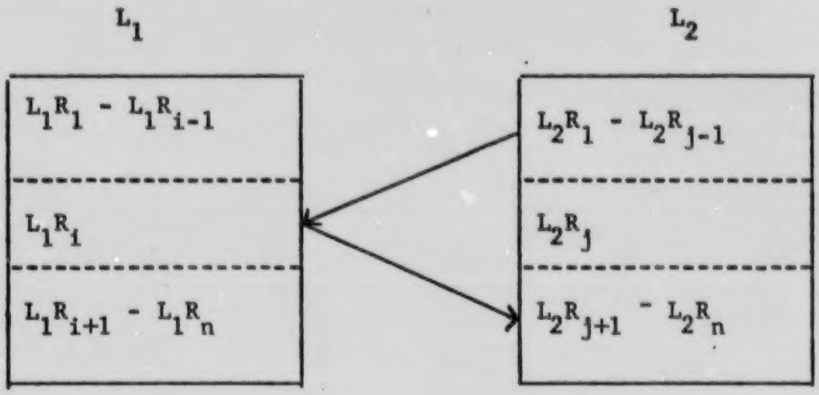
At this stage, it is appropriate to identify some of the possible sources which may have influenced "divergent" structures within a system like SJE. By divergent, here, we are referring to structures which are simply different from an idealized mainstream norm of standard English. The term divergent should not be taken to mean that such structures are less than adequate or deficient as linguistic structures. These structures are simply different, due to the different linguistic heritage of the speakers who have acquired them vis-a-vis standard English mainstream speakers.

What, then, are the potential contributing sources which have given rise to a system such as SJE, and how do we determine if, in fact, a particular source is responsible for a resultant structure? In the following sections we shall consider some of the main types of sources and how we might determine which one is responsible for divergence. While different sources might certainly be responsible for particular structures, we ultimately want an explanation which is true to the historical facts of the language situations and consonant with our knowledge facts of the language situations and consonant with our knowledge about the nature of Language. As we shall see, there is not always a unique justification for choosing between alternative explanations. We can only hope to maintain a realistic perspective, one which will allow us to give careful attention both to the specific details of language influence and the overall dynamics of the language situation historically.

3.1.1 Source Language Transfer

Given the historical language situation which existed in a community such as San Juan, it is reasonable to start by pointing to the possibility of divergent structures in SJE resulting from source language transfer. That is, there are structures in the variety which may be attributable to an imposition of the native language system. The most obvious source for SJE is, of course, Tiwa.[1] The potential of ancestral language transfer has been pointed out in other studies, as Leap observes for Isletan English (1974:88) when he attributes aspects of this variety to "Isletan Tiwa phonological constraints" and "Isletan Tiwa grammatical processes". It is not, of course, surprising that language transfer of this type should play a role in the formation of a distinct variety of English. There are many known cases of such influence, and most discussions of dialect differences readily cite such instances of influence on current varieties of English (e.g. Marckwardt 1958). For example, discussions of dialect differences in American English may note the influence of German structures still found in Southeastern Pennsylvania or Grundy County, Illinois, the Dutch influences in Holland and Grand Rapids, Michigan, or the linguistic effects of Irish on Beaver Island in Michigan (Shuy 1967:33). The extent of such influence and the ways in which structures are transfered, however, takes us considerably beyond the illustrative examples found in most general discussions of American dialects.

Although we may readily concede that another language can play an important role in the establishment of a variety of English, a more crucial question is how we justify our identification of such influence. Is there a methodological procedure by which we can establish particular structures as uniquely derived from the process of language transfer? The most likely basis for such a determination is an appeal to the so-called "contrastive analysis hypothesis". In this approach, the rules for L_1 and L_2 are placed side by side and, where there is a conflict, a form from L_1 may be predicted to occur in L_2 at this point of conflict. This is simply illustrated in the following diagram, adopted from Fasold (1972:138):



In the above diagram, L_1 would be a language such as Tewa and L_2 would be English. Certainly, transfer of this type occurs, but some approaches to "contrastive language analysis" maintain that transfer can be predicted on the basis of a simple comparison of this type. The basic problem with this perspective lies in the insistence on predictability. As it turns out, there are many cases where predicted influence simply does not take place for one reason or another. Studies of divergence in L_2 language situations (e.g. Corder 1967; Richards 1971) clearly indicate the failure of the predictive claim based on the contrastive analysis. Given such evidence, the predictive base must be qualified or abandoned. A weaker version of the contrastive language hypothesis as set forth by Wardhaugh (1970) does not maintain a predictive base. Instead, it starts with evidence of divergence in L_2 and examines it in light of the rules of L_1. If divergence in L_2 matches a rule of L_1 where it is in conflict with L_1, then it might be a candidate for attribution to L_1 influence. The emphasis here is on observed forms rather than predicted forms. It should be noted, however, that just because there is a similarity in the divergence of L_2 which conforms to a rule in L_1 does not make L_1 the only source from which it might be derived. As we shall see, there are alternative explanations which legitimately may have led to the same structure. These explanations may compete or converge with the evidence from contrasting L_1 and L_2.

A further complication in attributing divergence in L_2 to transfer from L_1 relates to the nature of transfer processes. All transfer processes are not unilateral and direct, as might be implied in the previous discussion. Selected parts of particular rules or forms may transfer without the entire rule being realized (i.e. a type of calquing) or rules from the source language may be extended in the transfer process (cf. Weinreich 1964:40-41). In either case, the transfer process is not isomorphic. Furthermore, the dynamics of the transfer process may result in "hyperforms" which are not traceable in any direct way to either L_1 or L_2 grammars. These are a by-product of the dynamic interaction of two systems and cannot be seen in terms of a simple L_1 influence; they involve the creation of new rules based on the conflict of L_1 and L_2 rather than a direct transfer of a rule (cf. Wolfram 1974:209). Aspects of "selective," "extended", and "hyper-transfer" influence are not esoteric, and have been documented in numerous studies of language transfer from quite different perspectives.

Apart from the theoretical problems in the attribution of source language transfer cited above, there are some very practical considerations that make the identification of sources difficult. In some cases, we are limited on the basis of available descriptions of the source language in question here (e.g. Hoijer and Dozier 1949; Speirs 1966; Spencer 1946) but these can in no way be considered as complete. A compilation of presently available works does not result in an exhaustive index of structures for contrastive purposes. Some aspects have received considerably more attention than others (e.g. morphology vis-a-vis syntax), and even where there are available descriptions of the potential source languages; competing analyses sometimes exist. We are thus limited on the basis of our linguistic knowledge of potential source languages.

A final complication in the identification of source language influence derives from the fact that in some cases we are dealing with a plurality of source languages. For some speakers, the native Indian language may not be the only possible source language with potential for influencing the variety of English, due to their knowledge of Spanish as well as the Indian language. The extent of such bilingualism and the possibility of divergence in English resulting from either (or both) of these potential sources is very real. It is a dimension which must be kept in mind in accounting for divergence on a more general scale as well as a consideration in the treatment of particular speakers.

The preceding discussion is not intended to discourage our identification of structures due to language transfer processes, but to place it in proper perspective. As the specific description proceeds, it will become apparent that there are a number of cases which are most reasonably attributed to this transfer process and we shall attempt to justify our conclusion in each case. At this point, we simply want to set forth the theoretical and practical dimensions which must be considered in such designations, and the alternative explanations which might be advanced.

3.1.2 Target Language Adaptation

Even if we could overcome all the theoretical and practical problems associated with contrastive analysis, we would not be able to attribute all aspects of divergence in a variety such as SJE to source language transfer. There are other alternatives that have to be considered in accounting for some observed divergence. One alternative explanation relates to the type of contact situation we described above as the basis for language transfer in which a native speaker of L_1 acquires another language, L_2. In this case, however, the explanation for the divergence is not dependent upon the relationship between L_1 and L_2. Instead, it is the particular structure of L_2 as it is subjected to general language learning strategies that accounts for the divergence. The specific structure of L_1 as it compares with L_2 is irrelevant in this instance. As Schumann and Stenson observe:

> No theory of contrastive analysis, strong or weak, should be expected to account for all errors of language learning. Much evidence is already available which suggests that many errors are due to target-related rule deviance as well.[2]
> 1974:2

As indicated above, recent research on second language acquisition has revealed that there are aspects of divergence in the target language which will be found regardless of the structural composition of the first language. These particular modifications of the L_2 system result from what Selinker (1974) calls "strategies of second language learning" and involve general principles related to the acquisition of LANGUAGE rather than the specifics of a particular L_1 system which a speaker has learned before acquiring L_2. It is the application of general principles of language acquisition to particular organizational aspects of L_2's structure which thus accounts for the observed divergence from L_2 norms.

One type of strategy which might account for such modification is rule generalization (or "overgeneralization" as termed by some) of one type of another.[3] When the target language has a rule relating to a particular set of items within a wider set, the rule might be extended to cover the wider set. One instance of this involves lexical exceptions. A classical example of this is the plural forms of English, which involve an extensive regular pattern of formation, but also some irregular plural forms. The predominant and regular

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pattern is learned and applied to those noun forms which are lexical exceptions to the rule, resulting in the "regularization" of "irregular" forms (e.g. oxes for oxen, mans for men).

Another instance of generalization might extend a rule beyond its constraints for application or non-application as found in L_2. This would not involve regularizing lexical exceptions or irregular forms, but expanding the structural limitations of rules application. Dušková (1969) argues for such an explanation for the absence of -Z third person present tense forms in second language learners, when he observes:

> Since all grammatical persons take the same verbal ending except for the third person singular in the present tense...omissions of the s in third person singular in the present tense may be accounted for by the heavy pressure of all the other endingless forms. The endingless form is generalized for all persons.
> (1969)

The important aspect of such modifications is their relationship to the target language system as approached by ANY learner of the language. Richards notes:

> ...examples of overgeneralization are the effects of particular learning strategies on items within the target language, and since such learning strategies appear to be universally employed when a learner is exposed to second language data, it is not surprising that many of the errors found in second language communication are identical despite the language background of the speaker.
> (1971:16)

Another type of strategy which might be applied to the learning of an L_2 system relates to the reduction of redundancy. Structurally superfluous forms may be modified or eliminated as a strategy of acquisition. For example, a plural inflectional marker on a noun along with a plural quantifier in the noun phrase might be considered structurally redundant and therefore the marker sould be a likely candidate for elimination. While the effect of redundancy reduction might not be as fully documented as generalization, it apparently is a general strategy which can operate independent of the structure of a first language.

It may be noted that aspects of general second language learning strategies discussed above are quite like some of the strategies found in first language acquisition as well. Dulay and Burt (1972) have argued that many of the same types of strategies are employed in first and second language acquisition. They maintain, for example, that modifications of the system in both cases typically involve rule generalization, syntactic simplification, and the reduction of syntactic redundancies. Taylor (1974) maintains that a unitary acquisitional process exists which applies to first and second language learning, and that apparent differences between first and second language learning can be accounted for by considering the variables of previous linguistic experience, cognitive maturity, and affective orientation. While the extent of similarities and differences between first and second language acquisition may be open to question, it is clear that some of the same strategies are involved, and that certain aspects of target language divergence are best explained as a function of general acquisitional strategies.

In the light of our preceding discussion, it seems quite reasonable to suggest that some aspects of divergence in SJE migh be explained as a by-product of general second language learning strategies. Historically, English was not the first language of many of the residents of these communities and was learned only after the indigenous language of the community was learned. (In some cases, of course, it was the third language, following both the Indian language and Spanish.) In a situation of this type, it is quite possible that structures derived from such processes might become fossilized within the resultant SJE system. We use the term "fossilization" here to refer to those aspects of transfer or general modification which are maintained more or less permanently as a part of the speaker's production of L_2. That is, the divergent forms persist long after the speaker has gone through the transitional process of learning the L_2 system. It is quite possible that aspects of target language modification exist along with aspects of language transfer as an essential part of what we describe here as the SJE system.

We must emphasize here again, that the attribution of divergence in SJE to the generalized strategies of second language acquisition in no way suggests that the resultant system is linguistically deficient, limited or incomplete. This is an extremely important point. The types of strategies we discussed above are quite involved in language changes which take place within a language independent of contact situations. SJE must be considered as a full linguistic system in its own right regardless of the historical influences which have brought it about. Accordingly, no assessment of basic language skills in English can be made simply on the basis of divergence attributable to language transfer and general modification. Changes derived from these sources might simply be integrated into the emerging variety of English, just as these types of influence have resulted in other varieties of English throughout the history of the English language.

Having established a theoretical justification for divergence related to the general acquisitional strategies, we may now ask how we can methodologically determine forms in SJE which might derive from such a source. In order to account for various forms on this basis, several types of arguments appear relevant. First of all, some divergence of this type should be predictable based on our knowledge of the target language system. Based on the principle of generalization (or overgeneralization) we articulated earlier, certain aspects of the system should be predisposed for modification. Rules with marked lexical exceptions and rules with marked structural restrictions should be subject to such modifications if, indeed, "natural" language strategies can account for divergence. On this basis, we would certainly predict that irregular plural forms, or irregular verb forms, would be "regularized", or that the marked exception of third person present tense -Z might be eliminated by analogy with the lack of marking on other present tense forms. Furthermore, we should be able to predict that rules implied on the basis of other rules or structures would be prime candidates for redundancy reduction to operate. Thus, forms such as redundant inflectional affixes would be expected to be eliminated in keeping with the strategy of redundancy reduction.

A second argument may come from data which indicates similar modifications in these target languages despite typologically quite diverse source languages. This, of course, is an empirically-based argument which is dependent on the representativeness of the data. Although the investigation of second language acquisition from the viewpoint of general acquisitional strategies is relatively recent, there does exist an inventory of divergent forms which have been collected from speakers of English as a second language. (An example of a collection of this sort is Burt and Kiparsky's The Gooficon 1972). The emergence of the same type of divergence from learners of English whose source languages are typologically quite diverse must be considered as a strong argument for maintaining a target language source, as opposed to native language transfer.

A supportive argument comes from the observation that some of the divergent forms have parallels in first language acquisition. As mentioned earlier, strategies such as generalization appear to be operative in both first and second language acquisition. Based on the assumption that such strategies are typical of acquisition regardless of when it takes place, similarity of divergence in first and second language acquisition can be supportive evidence for the attribution of a form to target language adaptation.

An additional argument might be made on the basis of how the forms are distributed among speakers in the community. This is particularly relevant when the role of bilingualism or the order of first and second language acquisition might differ among community members. In the case of a community such as San Juan, we have such differences represented among speakers. For most middle-aged and older community residents (i.e. lifetime residents) in San Juan, Tewa was the first language learned, whereas many of the younger generation residents are learning English simultaneously or as the first language. Given this kind of distribution, we might expect that aspects of the varieties related to the general strategies of learning English as a second language would be most prominent among those for whom English was most clearly acquired following the acquisition of the Indian language. In this case, supportive evidence comes from generational differences found in the distribution of divergent forms. If a form is most prominent among speakers for whom English is clearly a non-native language, then we might have supportive evidence that it is derived from a fossilized modification based on a general second language acquisition strategy. Such distribution cannot, however, be considered as a sufficient argument for the attribution of a form to this source, but together with the other types of arguments raised above, it might support this particular explanation.

The extent to which general strategies of language learning may account for divergence is, at this point, somewhat in dispute. Some investigators maintain that it is considerably more influential than native language transfer in accounting for divergence. Thus, Burt and Kiparsky observe in their introduction of The Gooficon:

> ...we have not found that the majority of syntactical goofs are due to the native language syntax of the learner....Because we have not found "foreign syntax" to be a major factor in describing learner goofs. The Gooficon is not language specific. Instead, it simply displays some parts of English grammar which cause speakers of many different native languages difficulty. (1972:3)

Other investigators take a somewhat more moderate view on the extent of general language learning influence vis-a-vis native language transfer. Thus, Taylor notes:

> It appears to be the case, however, that we cannot always adequately account for errors that look like interference by appealing to other learning strategies since the presence of the native language in the mind of the second language learner seems to influence the acquisition of all subsequent languages. (1974:30)

Although the extent of influence from various potential sources is a question which we will address in part in this study, it is quite possible that various types of influences may be more prominent on different levels of language organization. Thus, native language transfer might be more prominent in phonology while generalized strategies are more prominent in syntax. We will return to this issue after our description of the SJE system.

Although we have spoken of transfer influence and learning strategy influence as if they were mutually exclusive explanations, it must be noted that they might converge to lead to the same type of divergence. Richards observes:

> I have talked about interference and overgeneralization as if they were independent factors. The facts are not quite so consistent. In Samples 4 and 6 the Czech speaker consistently omits articles, and this I have attributed to interference, since articles are not present in his mother tongue. Dǔskovâ (1969:18) notes, however, "Although the difficulty in mastering the use of articles in English is ultimately due to the absence of this grammatical category in Czech, once the learner starts internalizing their system, interference from all the other terms of the (English) article system begins to operate as an additional factor. (1974:40)

In some cases, these two types of influences may reinforce a particular divergence so that they must be considered as complementary rather than alternative explanations.

Before concluding our discussion of general learning strategy influence as a basis for divergence, it is necessary to recognize the creative ways in which such divergence might be utilized within a resultant linguistic system. Unfortunately, the view of most researchers examining second language acquisition is limited to the classification of "error types" in the target language represented by such divergence. But it is quite possible that surface divergence explainable on this basis might be integrated into an emerging system to represent important grammatical functions. To account for forms on this basis historically in no way precludes such forms from being utilized in grammatically essential ways in a developing variety. This creative capacity can best be seen through an illustrative case. Quite typically, second language learners use an unconjugated form of *be* in finite constructions, along with the auxiliary *do*. Thus, Burt and Kiparsky note that *do* is "misused" with *be* as in sentences like *Does he be going*? and *He doesn't be studying tonight* (Burt and and Kiparsky 1972:24). To admit that such forms may result from a generalization process in second language acquisition strategies, however, does not necessarily exclude them from taking on important grammatical functions within an emerging English variety. Such a form might be used to lexify or relexify a grammatical category as it is integrated into the variety. This is, in fact, what has been suggested in terms of the use of be in sentences such as Sometimes his ears be itching or They don't usually be here as used in some current varieties of English where it functions as a "distributive" or "habitual" (cf. Fasold 1969, Wolfram 1974, Leap 1974). That the emergence of the unconjugated be form might be related to a generalization process historically does not limit the creative potential of language change and language contact situations as they affect a language system. Generalization of this type may be utilized in internal language change and there is no reason to suspect any difference for language change derived from contact situations. Languages constantly adapt and modify themselves in such ways.

A consideration of divergence in second language learning (whether it be source or target language derived) which is limited to a classification of "errors", "mistakes", or "goofs" belies the creative and dynamic potential of emerging linguistic systems in their own right. For our specific consideration here, we must remember that no description of SJE can affort to ignore this creative potential regardless of how we may account for the appearance of a form historically. The extent to which such forms have, in fact, been utilized in the current system is answerable only on the basis of a comprehensive description of the SJE as it is currently used.

3.1.3 Non-Mainstream Dialect Diffusion

Given the basis for our description of SJE (viz. those structures differing from a standard English reference point), we must consider another possible source explanation for some of the structures treated in our study. This is the influence of other non-mainstream varieties of English. Given the dynamics of cultural contact in in American society, it would hardly be surprising for diffusion of this type to take place. Ethnic minorities are often relegated to roles which lead to more contact with other non-mainstream groups than with mainstream groups. In such a context, it is quite reasonable to expect that some diffusion of non-mainstream linguistic forms would take place. Studies of such situations have indicated that the influence of surrounding non-mainstream groups can be quite significant (e.g. Wolfram 1974), whether the source is direct or indirect. Furthermore, non-English speaking communities will often take on the characteristics of non-mainstream varieties as English becomes a more prominent language within the community (cf. Biondi 1975). Leap's discussion of Isletan English (1974:82) specifically recognizes this potential source of influence in American Indian communities.

Whereas the sources of influence discussed above are dependent on bilingual situations (at least, historically), diffusion from other non-mainstream varieties can, of course, operate quite independent of bilingualism. Diffusion of this type is a natural process contributing to the constant state of change in language. In a bilingual situation as the one discussed here, the influence of other non-mainstream varieties must be viewed simply as another potential source which can explain some aspects of divergence.

The basis for identifying a particular form of SJE as derived from another non-mainstream variety of English must go beyond the simple attestation of parallel forms in SJE and some non-mainstream variety. Ultimately, there must be a reasonable social basis for expecting that a form might have been incorporated from the other variety. While diffusion can certainly be selective and several different non-mainstream varieties might lend their influence, we would expect some historical social situation to support a linguistic parallel.

For the types of communities considered here, the treatment of non-mainstream variety influence must also recognize a non-mainstream variety which, itself, has been influenced by a non-English language. (This would, of course, take place in the ways discussed in the previous sections.) We point here to what has sometimes been referred to as "Chicano English" (Metcalf 1974).[4] Certainly, the variety of English spoken in the surrounding Hispanic communities must be seen as an important informal model for English since it is the external group with whom the San Juan Pueblo would be expected to have the most extensive contact historically (Dozier 1970:97). This model would thus appear to merit greater consideration than some other non-mainstream varieties of English (e.g. non-mainstream Anglo varieties, Vernacular Black English, etc.).

Unfortunately, available descriptive information on relevant non-mainstream varieties is often less than adequate. Metcalf (1974:55) deplores the plaucity of studies of Chicano English in general, and there are no known studies specific to the immediate Hispanic communities relevant for San Juan. To supplement this lack of information, we have included among our interviewees some speakers whose first language was Spanish rather than Tewa, but all these speakers function to some extent within the social structure of the Pueblo. On the one hand, these speakers do not represent a "typical" resident of the surrounding Hispanic community, but, on the other hand, they may be crucial in terms of their transitional linguistic status between communities. In many cases, we are forced to turn to informal observation and anecdotal citations in our discussion of possible influences from the non-mainstream speaking, Spanish-American community.

The status of information on "Anglo English" in this area has, unfortunately, not improved substantially over Mencken's observation made some time ago:

> The English spoken by what are called the Anglos of New Mexico is basically General American, but it is full of the aforesaid Spanish loans, along with many Indian loans, and apparently shows some influence of Appalachian speech, apparently exerted by way of Texas. (1962:182-183)

Informal observation indicates that surrounding Anglo varieties are probably closer to North Midland than any of those dialect areas of the deep South, although Southern varieties have certainly had influence in more eastern and southern regions of New Mexico. In the northern and central portion of the state, the sections which are probably of most relevance here, we would expect more influence from North Midland type non-mainstream varieties. The extent of such influence, however, is an empirical question.

For the most part, we would expect items in SJE which have resulted from diffusion vis-a-vis other strategies to reveal a continuous distribution of isoglosses instead of a discontinuous pattern. As Kiparsky put it:

> An interesting consequence of this [i.e., borrowing items] is that isoglosses formed by the spread of rules over a speech territory should form large, coherent dialect areas, whereas those formed by simplification should be characteristically discontinuous because of independent development of the same change in several speech communities (1968:195).

In those cases where we want to attribute items in SJE to diffusion from other varieties of English, we should be able to show the continuous nature of the isoglossoal distribution, or at least explain the special conditions which have exempted it from this condition (e.g. the en masse migration of one group from one area to another without distribution along the migratory route).

We should mention here that some researchers might suggest that some aspects of divergence can be explained, not on the basis of surrounding non-mainstream varieties of English, but on the basis of vestigial influence from a general American Indian English pidgin or creole. Influence of this type would derive from an incomplete decreolization process. Attestations for a general American Indian Pidgin English were presented some time ago by Leechman and Hall (1955), and further attestations have been advanced by Miller (1967) and, especially, Dillard (1972, 1975). Without disputing the possibility of the existence of such a variety historically in other regions of the United States, we must conclude that it is highly unlikely that it would have existed in the immediate context of the communities we are describing here. While certain structures are indeed similar to those which might be derived from such a source, we have to go considerably beyond the simplistic citation of structures found among English-based pidgins or creoles to justify this source. Essentially, we have to reconstruct a social milieu amenable to the emergence of such a system and document its widespread usage by Indian and non-Indian groups in the area. Based on our understanding of the contact situation in the Rio Grande region historically (cf. Chapter Two), such does not seem plausible. Historically, there was little documented contact with the English language by Tewa speakers until the early part of this century. If a pidgin or creole based on a European language existed in the area, it would probably have been Spanish-based rather than English-based. It seems unlikely that some structures might be attributed to this potential source as an alternative to the other explanations already discussed although we might not be able to dismiss this possible source categorically.

As with the explanations for source attributions discussed previously, divergence due to the influence of other non-mainstream varieties should not necessarily be considered mutually exclusive with the other explanations. It is quite possible that this explanation may converge with the other explanations in a quite supportive way. That is, a particular form which might be expected on the basis of source language transfer or some generalized target language adaptation might reinforce or be reinforced by diffusion from other non-mainstream varieties. Although we might not always be able to determine which is the primary and secondary source of the divergence, Wolfram (1974) has shown that the examination of frequency relationships among varying forms might help determine "convergence" of this type. In Wolfram's study, a teen-aged variety of Puerto Rican English was examined in the context of the surrounding Black community. As it turns out, some structures (e.g. syllable-final d deletion) might be explained both on the basis of Spanish transfer and diffusion from Vernacular Black English. When the sample of speakers was divided into three groups, Black, Puerto Rican with extensive Black social contacts and those with restricted social Black contacts, the relative incidence of structures attributable to both Puerto Rican Spanish and Vernacular Black English revealed a frequency distribution as follows:[5]

Puerto Rican Group with Extensive Black Contacts > Puerto Rican Group with Restricted Black Contacts > Vernacular Black English Group

That is, the highest incidence of the form was found among Puerto Ricans with extensive Black contacts, where the process of transfer was also strongly supported by the surrounding Vernacular Black English group, the second highest frequency among those whose contact with Blacks was restricted so that the supportive effect was not as great, but still present, and lowest incidence among the Vernacular Black English speaking group, where it operated simply as a structure which fluctuated with what might be considered a standard English variant.

The role of convergence in the above case can be contrasted with a form attributable only to diffusion from Vernacular Black

English. In this case, we get a distribution like the following:

Vernacular Black English group > Puerto Rican Group With Extensive Black Contact > Puerto Rican Group With Restricted Black Contact

Given the contrast of the distributional pattern in these two cases (i.e., a non-mainstream variant with and without a convergent transfer source process), it appears that some clear-cut examples of convergent processes can be documented. Although we do not expect all convergent processes to be so readily documented, the supportive effect of different source influence has been clearly demonstrated. Accordingly, such possible convergence must be examined closely in our study here.

Naturally, not all diffusion of non-mainstream forms in varieties such as SJE can be attributed to extensive contact by a majority of the members. Some of these features might certainly be the result of second hand contact or the result of a few agents of diffusion with a ripple effect within the community of speakers.

Before concluding our discussion of non-mainstream diffusion as an explanation for divergence, we should be reminded that the establishment of a surface parallel between a structure of SJE and some non-mainstream variety does not necessarily insure that the two structures will operate in identical ways. It is quite possible for a parallel surface structure to be relexified to fulfill a particular grammatical function within the emerging variety of English. Each structure must thus be seen in terms of how it functions within the system of English in which it is found before any conclusions can be drawn concerning its parallel in other non-mainstream varieties of English. The extent to which parallel surface forms function in unique ways in SJE is, of course, a question which can be answered only on the basis of the description that follows.

3.1.4 The Limitations of Explanatory Sources

In the preceding discussion, we have attempted to set forth some potential sources of influence on the structures of SJE. We have also endeavored to delimit the types of arguments which might be raised to support the identification of particular source influences. In some cases, linguistic type arguments seem more relevant than social ones, while in other cases, social arguments are more compelling

Still other instances require both a linguistic and social basis of argumentation.

The three major types of source alternatives delimited here should not necessarily be considered as exhaustive, since there are other alternatives that might have been treated. For example, we might have considered Stenson's (1974) explanation of divergence on the basis of particular language training procedures or Coulter's (1968) explanation on the basis of second language communication strategies (i.e. divergence based on a strategy for communicating with native speakers of the target language), but we are concerned here primarily with divergence in the light of alternative linguistic systems. We might also have delimited our major influences more finely but the operation of particular types of processes within the primary source influences (e.g. generalization, hypercorrection, analogy) is best discussed in the context of those structures which represent these processes.

If nothing else, the preceding discussion should prepare us for the complexities involved in the attribution of sources. There is no simple answer to the question of source influence in a system like SJE. This fact will become more apparent as we strive to describe the structures of SJE and comment on the possible source influence which might account for the structures. As we struggle with the complexity of attributing source influences, we are mindful of the fact that it is undoubtedly the particular configuration of various source inputs which has resulted in current uniqueness of the system we describe here.

3.1.5 Some Representative Structures of SJE

In the following sections, we shall describe some of the structures of SJE. Our intent is to present the descriptive facts of the current system, and then look at these facts in terms of the potential sources of explanation we presented above. Of necessity, our description is selective, since it would be impossible to cover all aspects of the system in this treatment. Other characteristic structures we might have discussed are presented in the inventory of structures included in the appendix, (cf. Appendix A) but even this is not completely representative. In our discussion here, we attempt to motivate our conclusions on the basis of substantive types of linguistic argumentation, but we have avoided writing formal rules. This procedure is followed in an effort to include a more broad-based audience of readers. Both qualitative and quantitative dimensions of structures are considered in the following sections since the nature of variation in English cannot be considered apart from both perspectives. Where appropriate, we also compare structures with those found in other non-mainstream varieties in an effort to establish where SJE might fit in terms of a continuum of divergence from mainstream varieties of standard English.

Aspects of grammatical and phonological structures of SJE are considered, with several of the grammatical structures we discuss more properly considered lexical or vocabulary differences. The discussion in terms of these levels will give us an idea of diversity on several different levels, and the role of different sources in explaining phenomena on these levels.

3.2 Grammatical Aspects of San Juan English

In the following sections, we shall highlight some of the grammatical aspects of the SJE system. Various grammatical structures are at the core of any consideration of the nature of the SJE system and the explanatory sources which have given rise to the contemporary code. Perhaps the most central issue in grammatical structure relates to aspects of the verb phrase, including such structures as tense marking, different types of verb forms, and subject-verb concord. Verb phase differences are also among the most variable structures in the differentiation of English varieties, and have been cited as demonstrating unique grammatical functions within some Indian English varieties. Therefore, no study of Indian English varieties can be representative without treating some of these structures.

Another structure central to the question of diversity in the English language is negation. Dimensions of negation have been studied in a number of different contexts, and have been shown to be quite sensitive as social markers. Particular negative structures are among the stereotyped features of non-mainstream varieties, and it is therefore instructive to compare their usage in an Indian English variety with other non-mainstream varieties. Another item which has shown considerable dialect diversity is question formation. Although there are a number of different ways in which questions might differ from variety to variety, we consider only one here, the use of tag questions. This demonstrates the role of an Indian English variety as it responds to the pressures of different types of historical source language influence.

Finally, we consider several different aspects of the noun phrase in SJE. Aspects of pluralization, including the role of noun classification, are also quite sensitive to dialect differentiation in English, and thus serve as a diagnostic structure in cross-variety comparisons. We include further a selected aspect of determiner usage which might set this variety apart from some other non-mainstream varieties. This is just one of the number of differences which we might have focused on in determiners. Also included with the nominals are several different types of pronoun forms. The pronominal forms we discuss here are actually reflective of particular lexical item differences, but they give a representative indication of some of the other varieties of American English and how they have affected an Indian English variety.

As mentioned above, the items we focus on here are necessarily limited. There are many more aspects of the noun phrase that might have been considered, and some important structures not covered at all, such as comparatives, relative clause formation, and so forth. We do not mean to underestimate the importance of these other structures, and we have noted some of these in the inventory of grammatical structures. Unfortunately, we are constrained by limitations on our study which have forced us to select representatively rather than exhaustively. In this respect, we simply note that a number of structures are included, but this is still only a starting point, for there are many more which need to be covered in an exhaustive description.

3.2.1 Tense Usage: Unmarked Past Tense

The marking of tense within the verb phrase is a phenomenon which has drawn considerable anecdotal attention among those who have commented on the English spoken in various Indian communities. A number of observers of Indian English in quite different settings have noted that forms which typically are marked for "past tense" in mainstream varieties of English may be realized without an overt past tense marking. Thus, we may get a form such as Last year we go to the fiesta, corresponding to Last year we went to the fiesta in mainstream varieties. Drechsel (1976:77) cites the "mixing of tense, i.e. zero past" as one of the recurring patterns of grammatical difference found in varieties of Indian English.

"Unmarked past tense", as we shall refer to it here, demonstrates historical continuity in that it is recorded for earlier as well as some present day versions of Indian English. Leechman and Hall (1955) and Dillard (1975) give a number of attestations of unmarked past forms dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries. Malancon and Malancon (1977:147) extend such attestations by documenting unmarked past forms of different language groups present at the Haskell Institute at the beginning of this century. And Cook (1973) updates this documentation by citing examples from representative communities in the Southwest, including Apache, Pima, Hopi, Mohave, Paiute, Papago, Shoshone, and the Hualapai. Despite the fact that unmarked past forms have been noted quite frequently in varieties of Indian English, observations have typically been restricted to the citation of particular examples. There exists no detailed investigation of this phenomenon, with the exception of Leap's (1977) treatment of copula.

Admittedly, any serious investigation of unmarked past tense is immediately confronted with the complexities involved in the English tense-aspect system, particularly as compared with the potential source language systems. As Silverstein observes:

> Again, the tense-aspect system of English is particularly involved in construction, and differs markedly from most Indian languages.. ...A great number of the pidginized characteristics of "Indian English" emerge from the morphological and categorical gap between the primary Indian languages and English. (1973:84)

Any serious student of the English verb system is well aware of the complex relations existing between overtly marked past tense forms and actual temporal-aspectual relations. Furthermore, such relations extend beyond the verb phrase itself. Some aspects of these relations are dependent on the surrounding syntactic structures, whereas others may be governed by the development of larger discourse units. It is safe to say that a number of issues remain unresolved concerning the organization of temporal-aspect relations exhibited in the English verb system (e.g. cf. Lakoff 1970).

By the same token, it is generally recognized that many Indian languages in the Southwest United States indicate temporal-aspectual relations which contrast strikingly with the English system. While various classificatory systems may include categories such as "habitual", "completive", "potential", and so forth, the definition of these labels sometimes turns out to be quite elusive. Ultimately, the limits of some of these categories may have to be defined in terms of indigenous world views, and how tense and aspect are viewed within particular cultural frameworks. Suffice it here to note that the details of aspect and temporal relations given in accounts of the indigenous Indian languages are sometimes superficial, and therefore not completely reliable as a reference to the source language system.

Given the cautions implied in the previous paragraphs, we must approach the study of tense marking in SJE somewhat tentatively. By the same token, however, it is essential to extend the investigation of tense usage in varieties of Indian English beyond the anecdotal citations of forms that have been so characteristic of some observers. Only a more detailed investigation can begin to come to grips with organization of tense-aspect relations in Indian varieties of English and the extent to which it might be a general or variety-specific phenomenon.

As a starting point, we can set forth the various types of constructions in which past tense is not overtly marked in SJE. In all of the examples given below, we would expect the past tense to be overtly realized in mainstream varieties of English for one reason or another. In cases such as (1a-d), there is no overt marking of past tense on the main verb.

(1) a. Remember the time they fight for Yunge, well, it was because there were some mens that could use their strength and they knew where the Indian from the pueblo belong. (103:15)

b. They all speak in Indian when we first started school; we had to learn it, the English, in school. (79:1)

c. ...until we started going to Santa Fe Indian school and that's when we know everything different. (106:2)

d. I don't think hardly any of the kids speak English at the time when we first started going to school. I believe most of the kids speak Tewa at the time. (106:6)

Unmarked past tense can also be found with copula verb forms, as illustrated in (2a,b):

(2) a. Well, now they are, but before they aren't. (104:13)

b. In those days, when we were kids, all we seen is nothing but adobe homes. (106:15)

We may further observe unmarked tense forms on auxiliaries within the verb phrase rather than on the main verb. We therefore find unmarked past tense for be+ing progressive forms (3a,b), have+en perfect forms (4a,b), do support (5a,b) and modals such as can (6a,b) and will (7a,b). These are illustrated in the following examples:

be+ing

(3) a. We useta go in the wagon with my family, boys help their Daddy, and when the train is coming, the kids useta run there and, how was it, they called the conductor, the conductor useta get candy and throw it. (102:11)

b. We would stay out there the whole day and when the train is coming, we useta run over to the railroad tracks, and some of the people that were in the train, I guess the passenger part of the train, I guess the passenger part of the train would, they would slow down. (103:8)

have+en

(4) a. She left and went to work over there, she has never been away from work until then. (104:2)

b. ...because we have never done that when we were kids, we always had respect for them. (130:5) do support

(5) a. ...mostly we did was work and work, when we do work, we don't get pay for it like they do now. (106:7)

b. Kids now go bowling, and we don't have that during our time. (127:1)

can

(6) a. There was a lady that we can see her butt. (117:1)

b. And they just allowed us, like so many hours, and we can't go over one o'clock or like two o'clock, but it was lotta fun. (106:2)

will

(7) a. And when we useta get in bed, the legs will go under. And here we'll be on the floor, and we had fun at that time. (87:12)

b. They were wetting it for it won't go onto the house. (116:26)

Although unmarked tense is indicated in the above examples, it must be noted that it is a variable phenomenon which is found along with the type of overt tense marking that we would expect from mainstream speakers of English. That is, there is fluctuation between unmarked and marked tense forms. The dimension of variability in tense marking is a topic we will take up in more detail later in our discussion.

There are several bases for expecting overtly marked past tense forms in the mainstream correspondence of the forms cited in (1) through (7). In some cases, the time reference is explicitly indicated by a co-occurring adverbial phrase (cf. Crystal 1966:12). For example, temporal adverbs such as in those days (2b) at the time (1d), during our time (5b), and before (2a) designate explicitly a context of past time. There are also cases where the overt specification of past tense marking elsewhere in the sentence suggests a past tense reference in a related clause. Thus, clauses explicitly marked for past tense in the standard English correspondence may call for past tense in a related clause. For example, clauses marked for past, such as When we were kids (4b), or When we useta get out of bed (7a), would require a past time marking in their related clauses. While there are certainly different formal bases for maintaining that overt past tense marking is expected in the mainstream corresponding structures, it is quite apparent that SJE indicates a different patterning of tense marking. The exact nature of this difference will be the focus of our ensuing discussion.

3.2.1.1 The Intersection of Processes

3.2.1.1.1 Phonological Convergence

Most of the examples given in the previous section seem to be unambiguous cases of unmarked past tense. Furthermore, it would seem that the explanation for these cases must be based on some grammatical differences between standard English and SJE. This is not the case, however, for all instances of verb forms not overtly marked for past tense. There are some instances which may be explicable on the basis of particular pronunciation patterns.

One case of apparent merging of phonological and grammatical processes in the absence of an overtly marked past tense is regular verb forms ending in a consonant cluster. It is noted that none of the examples given in (1) through (7) involve a regular verb form ending in a consonant cluster. Regular verb forms ending in a consonant other than *t* or *d* form their past tense through the addition of another consonant, *d* in the case of a final voiced consonant and *t* in the case of a voiceless consonant. As we will point out in our discussion of consonant cluster reduction (cf. Section 3.3.1), these verbs may not realize past tense in their surface phonetic structure. There are many examples such as (8a-d).

(8) a. Last year he *stop* at the pueblo.
b. When we were kids, we *miss* our fiesta.
c. In our time we *raise* a lotta kids.
d. At that time we *pull* a wagon.

Regular verbs of this type may be explained on the basis of a pronunciation process which operates on final consonant clusters, regardless of the grammatical function of the cluster. We are not here maintaining that all such cases are to be explained in this manner, and we conclude in our discussion of cluster reduction (cf. Section 3.3.1.2) that this is in the exclusive explanation for such cases. However, this process certainly merges with the grammatical cases illustrated in examples (1) through (7) as an explanation for the absence of tense marking. If a variety exhibits both the phonological process of final cluster reduction and the grammatical process of unmarked tense, we may not be able to determine whether a particular instance of non-realized past tense on a regular verb is to be attributed to the phonological or grammatical process. Accordingly, forms such as stop, miss, and plan corresponding to standard English stopped, missed, and planned might be the result of either process.[6] Irregular forms such as go corresponding to went, is for was, and do for did could presumably be explained only in terms of a grammatical difference since they do not meet the conditions for the phonological explanation (i.e. they do not form past tense through the formation of a consonant cluster). We shall suggest later that the overall quantitative evidence supports a convergent explanation. However, individual cases of non-realized past tense on regular verbs ending in a consonant (i.e. a consonant other than t or d, which do not result in a cluster) may be ambiguous as to the source of explanation. It is for this reason that no regular forms which would potentially result in a cluster were included in the examples of unmarked past tense given in (1) through (7). At that point, we were simply attempting to establish the grammatical basis for some cases of unmarked past tense in SJE. However, any realistic explanation in terms of the total description of the system must recognize the potential convergence of processes to account for the unmarked past tense on regular verbs.

Such a recognition has not always typified treatments of tense marking in varieties of English. Thus, Malancon and Malancon (1977:147) classify instances of irregular verb forms not overtly marked for tense as examples of "tense mixing/variant uses of tenses" (e.g. have, do, are) while classifying regular verbs not marked for tense (e.g. reach, mention, examine) as examples of "Deletion of past tense marker." If these varieties have both cluster reduction as a phonological process and unmarked tense as a grammatical difference, such a simplistic classification cannot be made. If the grammatical system does not mark past tense as a grammatical rule to begin with, it is inappropriate to speak in any technical sense of the "deletion" of past tense. At any rate, such cases of unmarked past tense for regular verbs clearly must admit the possibility of convergent processes resulting in the same surface form.

Cases involving regular verbs ending in a cluster are not the only examples where a phonological process might converge with a grammatical difference to account for the surface absence of past tense marking. There are other instances of unmarked past tense for which we also must realistically consider a phonological explanation. Consider the following examples from our corpus:

(9) a. We useta go for water, clear over to the pueblo, and that's right behind the chapel, and we *bring* our water in buckets. (106:5)

b. Well, we were taught to speak English, but once a while we answer our teacher back in Indian, then they *get* after us not to talk Indian. (105:4)

Although our first reaction might be to consider the underlined verbs in the above sentences as instances of unmarked tense based on the grammatical system of SJE, we must realistically consider an alternative phonological explanation. It is possible to derive such forms through a phonological process of *would* reduction and eventual deletion. Contexts such as the above (i.e. a recurring activity during some previous time) are certainly appropriate for the use of *would*, so that a structure such as *we would bring our water in buckets* or *then they would get after us not to talk Indian* could certainly have been used. Once the *would* is contracted to '*d*, we have a *d* remaining before *bring* and *get* ('*d bring,* '*d get*). As discussed elsewhere(Wolfram and Fasold 1974:161) this is a context in which *d* may assimilate to the following consonant (e.g. *db*→*bb* and *dg*→*gg*), with the eventual elimination of any phonetic vestige of the original *would* (e.g. *db*→*bb*→*b* and *bg*→*gg*→*g*). The phonological process operating here is documented for SJE as well as many other varieties of English, and thus must be considered as an alternative, or, at least, convergent explanation for the forms cited above.

Although we cannot categorically eliminate this possible phonologically-based explanation for some examples we have, there is reason to conclude that this cannot be offered as the exclusive explanation for these forms. Naturally, we cannot offer it as an explanation for main verbs where the context is a real, non-recurring event which took place at a time prior to the person's speaking. It is difficult to imagine how the following verb phrases might be interpreted as having an underlying *would* since the activity refers to a single event which took place at a prior time.

(10) a. I guess she didn't watch the curb where the cement is high, she just *drive* right straight, and we all yell and *hold* each other. (102:8)

b. But now, he just finally *find* out, cause he failed in a couple of grades. (80:3)

There is also evidence suggesting that even where the semantic context might allow *would*, we cannot conclude that forms such as those in (9) should necessarily be explained as a product of this process. There are several arguments which can be raised against such an exclusive interpretation.

To begin with, we observe that verb forms beginning with a vowel cannot be attributed to *would* reduction and deletion, as in examples like (11):

(11) a. Well, we were taught to speak English, but once and a while we *answer* our teacher back in Indian...(105:3)

In anticipation of our descriptions of syllable-final *d*, (cf. Section 3.3.2), we can observe that *d* does not delete in SJE preceding a vowel. Since the verb in (11) begins with a vowel, we therefore cannot explain the absence of any phonetic vestige of *would* by this phonological process. It would be highly unlikely that such a phonological process would be operative only on *d*'s before vowels when related to the form *would*.

A further argument against deriving unmarked tense from *would* is found in the inflectional endings carried by some of the forms. For example, consider the following examples:

(12) a. We were very poor when we were young. When they *give* us a nickel that *means* a lot. And nowadays, this kids don't want a nickel. (130:5)

b. And when we *have* to go through that snow, my God, how I dreaded to go for water and I remember, it *comes* down to a-- up to my knees, and that was a lotta snow at that time. (106:5)

On initial glance, the first verb underlined might be interpreted as derived from an underlying *would*. But the following verb is a clear-cut case of non-past form, since it takes a non-past tense inflectional ending. (i.e. third person singular present tense -*s*.) When verbs occur with a modal in English, they cannot take an inflectional ending. The use of the inflectional ending in cases such as these eliminates the possibility of the modal *would* derivation here.

There are other arguments that might be added to this, but the conclusion is quite apparent. Although the possibility of underlying would reduction and deletion (i.e. would→'d→0) might be cited as a convergent explanation for some cases of unmarked past tense, this is not a sufficient explanation in itself. At best, this possible source converges with a grammatical basis for unmarked tense in SJE to account for the observed forms.

A third possible convergent phonological process is illustrated by examples such as the following:

(13) a. I believe most of the kids speak Tewa at the time, until we start going to school, and then slowly we learnt our English. (106:6)

b. How would you feel, you know, if the Indians here in San Juan want to bring back the capital of New Mexico back to San Juan. (114:11)

c. but I decided since everybody was going to school, I decide to walk there and I went to school all by myself. (104:6)

d. ...so I been hoeing my garden. I plant some chili, corn, watermelon, and melon, lettuce cucumbers and radishes and peas. (129:2)

It is noted that all of these forms involve regular verbs which would be expected to end in the [Id] form phonetically, since the verb base ends in a t or d. Realizations such as (13) have been found in other varieties of English, and have been described as the result of a detailed set of phonological rules (cf. Fasold 1972:105-114). Without detailing the complex interaction and application of these reduction and deletion rules here, we may simply note that it is possible for these phonological rules to explain the observed forms. It is also possible that the simple application of unstressed syllable deletion as found in many other instances of SJE (Appendix A) may apply to eliminate the unstressed syllable represented in the [Id]. Whatever the explanation for these cases, it certainly is plausible to suggest that some of them may not be due to a grammatical difference, but the operation of phonological rules. Like the cases of regular verbs involving word-final clusters, it may not be possible to determine the precise basis for the production of a particular form. It again appears that such forms may result from convergent processes within SJE. We will, however, suggest later that a phonological or grammatical basis for the form might be suggested for a given speaker, dependent on other facts. Suffice it to say here that there is a potential phonological intersection which may converge with the grammatical base to explain forms like start for started and want for wanted when the system of SJE as evidenced by the totality of speakers is considered.

3.2.1.1.2 Grammatical Convergence

In addition to the convergence between phonological and grammatical processes which may result in identical surface forms, it is also possible that non-realized past tense results from a grammatical process other than a basic difference in the tense marking system. Consider, for example, the sentences illustrated in (14):

(14) a. But when we come home, if we come home late, we used to get a good one. (87:1)

b. We come and eat and go back home right away, but now, as Frances has showed up, she's teaching us a lotta things. (102:7)

Instead of interpreting a form such as come as a form basically unmarked for past tense, it might be considered as a type of irregular verb form in which the present and past form are undifferentiated. Technically speaking, this would mean that the form is marked for past, but that the past form is simply the same as the non-past. This is analogous to certain standard English irregular verb forms such as put and set, which do not differentiate the past, as in Yesterday they put the door on and Yesterday they set the table. The extension of this class of irregular verb formation is a well-documented type of process found in some non-mainstream varieties (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:151). A verb such as come in (14a,b) is a common verb form subject to this extension. As was the case with some of the phonological intersection discussed above, we may not be able to determine whether a particular verb form is a result of this irregular verb formation or a grammatical tense-marking difference. There are, however, some cases, involving third person singular forms, which may be disambiguated by the use of the inflectional -s, which only occurs in the present tense. Thus, when we get sentences such as (15), the tense difference rather than a difference in irregular verb formation is indicated.

(15) a. I must be very small at that time, because it comes out way above my knees. (106:5)

b. How I dreaded to go for water and I remember, it comes down to a--up to my knees and that was a lotta snow at that time. (106:5)

We would expect the form come rather than comes in (15a,b) if it were a product of irregular verb form difference rather than a deeper tense marking difference. The inflectional -s would not be expected since it marks non-past tense (in addition to its other functions).

The interpretation of verb forms not disambiguated on the basis of inflections (e.g. 14) as a product of the irregular verb system vis-a-vis the tense marking system of SJE must be viewed in the context of the overall verb system of SJE. The investigation of other irregular verb patterns indicates that the degree of non-standardness in irregular verb forms typically is not very extensive in SJE (cf. Section 3.2.3). Furthermore, the most prominent pattern is regularization of past tense forms (e.g. hurted, lighted selled), and these are more typical of the younger speakers. Older speakers, who are more prone to use unmarked past tense, tend to treat past tense irregular verbs, when used, in a basically standard way. The overall evidence, then, suggests that the tense difference is more influential as an explanation than the irregular verb difference, even though there are certainly individual cases where we cannot decide the explanation for the verb form.

One final pattern of tense usage should be mentioned as a potential alternative to simple unmarked past tense usage. This is the use of the so-called historical present, in which a non-past tense is used to narrate an event that took place at some prior time. This usage is found to some extent in both mainstream and non-mainstream varieties, and is illustrated in passages such as the following from Gleason (1965:348).

> I was just walking along down the street, and this guy comes up to me and says, "Where do you think you're going?" I don't say nothing, but then I see he has this big knife in his hand, so...

The traditional explanation of this non-past usage is that it "recalls or recounts the past as vividly as if it were present" (Palmer 1965:69). Although there are details of the historical present which are still lacking, there are several bases for disambiguating some cases of "historical present" from the type of unmarked past we have in SJE. For one, the historical present is limited to narrative reports of specific happenings, a "performed narrative" (Wolfson 1978). Recurring or non-specific happenings such as those typical of some of our examples (e.g. 1b, d, 2a, b in the previous examples) would not be included in such a definition (cf. Wolfson 1978 for more defining characteristics). However, there are instances such as (10a), where the reference to a specific past time narrative might qualify so that we may not be able to determine if, in fact, the unmarked past is a result of the historical present usage or a type of unmarked past tense marking unique to SJE. In such cases, a particular case might be resolved by looking at the overall tense marking pattern of the speaker, and the structure of particular verbs in the context of the complete discourse. Take, for example, the following excerpt:

> (16) Bryan kept holding on to me, "Let me go," I kept telling him that. And then he was so small and he kept saying "Don't", I tell him that and he goes "We're turning!" He kept yelling that and I go "So!" And I lost my tickets in there. (150:22)

In a case such as this, it is reasonable to conclude that we have historical present usage rather than unmarked tense peculiar to SJE. The context appears to qualify as a performed narrative, and the verb usage meets the structure of one type of tense sequencing exhibited by this usage. In this case, the non-past form introduces or recounts a direct quote, a typical usage of historical present (cf. Wolfson 1978:220). When these facts are considered along with the speaker's restricted use of unmarked usage in contexts not potentially explicable as historical present, our conclusion is reinforced.

Naturally, not all cases are as clear-cut as those given above, and we must still accept the notion that the general unmarked tense pattern of SJE and the historical present may converge to explain some cases of unmarked past tense within SJE.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have gone to some length to show that there are certainly other processes that might be called on to explain the occurrence of some forms. While we realistically admit that other explanations may lead to the same surface form with respect to tense marking, we have concluded that none of these explanations is sufficient in itself as an explanation of unmarked past tense. We must maintain that there is a genuine grammatical difference apart from these other processes which must be appealed to in any discussion concerning unmarked past tense in SJE. That is, there appears to be a basic tense marking difference at a deeper level of structure in SJE. This grammatical difference converges with other processes such as the phonological and grammatical ones cited above to account for the actual forms which do not overtly indicate past tense.

3.2.1.2 Variability in Unmarked Tense

In the preceding sections, we were content to document the existence of unmarked past tense in SJE. Although we observed earlier that this phenomenon is variable in the sense that it does not always occur where it might potentially occur, we did not examine this variable dimension. As we shall see, an examination of this variability is essential in understanding the patterning of unmarked tense within the SJE system, and our interpretation of its grammatical function will be based, to a large extent, on aspects of this variability.

As a starting point, we can examine the relative incidence of unmarked tense on several types of main verbs. This is done in Table 3.1, where the relative frequency of unmarked tense usage is tabulated for 20 SJE speakers representing four age groups. In this Table, the incidence of unmarked tense is given in relation to those cases where the standard English tense marking pattern would call for the overt marking of past tense. The tabulations in Table 3.1 are delimited on the basis of three main verb types. The first type, labeled "Non-Cluster Main Verbs", encompasses all verb forms which do NOT mark their past tense through the formation of a consonant cluster (e.g. not *stop*/ *stop[t]*, *plan*/*plan[d]*, *miss*/*miss[t]*). Verb forms ending in a cluster are excluded on the basis of their strong intersection with the phonological process we shall discuss in Section 3.3.1. What this category includes, then, is irregular past verbs (e.g. *speak/spoke*, *go/went*, *find/found*) and regular verbs which do not form their past through a consonant cluster. The latter case includes two kinds of regular verbs: those that simply add [d] since the base form of the verb does not end in a true consonant (e.g. *stay/stay[d]*, *row/row[d]*, *play/play[d]*) and those which end in [Id] past formation since the base form ends in a *t* or a *d* (e.g. *start*/*start[Id]*, *plant/plant[Id]*, *part/part[Id]*).

The second type of verb is the copula *be* in sentences such as *He is/was ready*. Although *be* may also function as an auxiliary (e.g. *He is/was going home*) which carries tense marking, we restrict ourselves to tabulating its tense marking when functioning as a main verb type in Table 3.1. The third type of verb delimited is *have*, when it functions as a main verb (e.g. *They have/had a fiesta*). Like *be*, *have* can also function as an auxiliary (e.g. *They have/had taken the train*), but we restrict our tabulation of tense marking for *have* to its main verb function in Table 3.1.

Our basis for establishing that past tense would be expected in standard English is: (1) co-occuring adverbs which explicitly mark a past tense context (e.g. *Yesterday they left home*, but not **Yesterday they leave home*) (2) tense sequencing where overt past tense marking in one clause requires its realization in a structurally-related clause or sentence (e.g. *When I was a kid we ate tortillas*, but not **When I was a kid, we eat tortillas*), and (3) more general discourse contexts calling for past tense marking (e.g. First Party: *What did you eat*? Second Party: *We ate tortillas*, but not **What did you eat*? *We eat tortillas*). Cases where a non-past form might be used as an alternative in standard English were naturally eliminated from tabulation. This includes cases where the non-past might occur as an alternative in related clauses (e.g. *John didn't know you have/had to register with the council*, cf. Costa 1972) as well as instances which might qualify as the use of historical present.

Speaker Number	Non-Cluster Main Verb Non-P/Pot	%	be Non-P/Pot	%	have Non-P/Pot	%
10-19 Year Old						
116	0/69	0.0	0/51	0.0	0/17	0.0
117	2/129	1.5	0/38	0.0	0/13	0.0
119	2/111	1.8	0/35	0.0	0/12	0.0
120	2/159	1.3	0/85	0.0	0/14	0.0
150	5/162	3.1	1/69	1.4	0/5	0.0
Total	11/630	1.7	1/278	.4	0/61	0.0
20-39 Year Old						
94	0/17	0.0	0/8	0.0	0/7	0.0
105	4/16	25.0	0/13	0.0	0/3	0.0
114	1/43	2.3	0/40	0.0	0/6	0.0
126	0/31	0.0	0/20	0.0	0/7	0.0
187	4/26	15.4	0/21	0.0	0/6	0.0
Total	9/133	6.8	0/102	0.0	0/29	0.0
40-59 Year Old						
79	5/15	33.3	0/8	0.0	1/7	14.2
80	4/251	1.6	0/90	0.0	1/31	3.2
130	13/59	22.0	0/60	0.0	7/18	38.8
104	8/132	6.1	5/59	8.5	5/21	23.8
106	43/81	53.1	13/47	35.1	10/24	41.6
Total	73/538	13.6	18/264	6.8	24/101	23.8
60 and Older						
127	1/8	12.5	0/5	0.0	0/0	--
87	4/36	11.1	2/23	8.7	0/12	0.0
129	3/5	60.0	1/5	20.0	2/2	100.0
102	7/40	17.5	1/37	2.7	1/7	14.2
103	4/26	15.4	1/31	3.2	1/13	7.6
Total	19/115	16.5	5/101	5.0	4/34	11.8

Table 3.1. The Incidence of Unmarked Past Tense Forms Among Four Age Groups of San Juan English Speakers.

Table 3.1 serves as the basis for observations about unmarked tense usage in SJE along several different dimensions. It is quite apparent that unmarked tense is a phenomenon which is quite variable, indicating relatively low incidence when the overall population is considered. However, there are speakers such as 79, 106, and 129, who realize it to a considerable extent. These speakers are in the 40-59 and 60 and older age categories, indicating a clear-cut generational difference in unmarked tense. In fact, it is questionable whether there is anything more than the vestige of unmarked tense usage among the younger speakers. This is certainly the case for unmarked tense which must be explained in terms of underlying difference in grammatical tense marking. For younger speakers, some of the limited incidence of tense absence for main verbs may be explained by the fact that not all intersecting phonological explanations have been eliminated from our tabulation. For example, we included in our tabulation of non-cluster main verbs cases which involved the addition of [Id] past form (e.g. started, traded, etc.) even though we earlier noted the alternative phonological process which might account for such cases. To show how these cases might provide some explanation for the incidence of unmarked tense among younger speakers, consider a tabulation which gives the number of unmarked past tense verbs involving potential [Id] formation in relation to the total number of unmarked tense forms for the four groups of speakers. These figures are given in Table 3.2, where summary figures are given for the four groups.

Age Group	No. Involving [Id]/ Total Unmarked Past	%
10-19 year old	6/11	54.5
20-39 year old	3/9	33.3
40-59 year old	11/73	15.1
60 and Older	3/19	15.8

Table 3.2. The Incidence of Unmarked Forms Involving [Id] in San Juan English

The fact that a higher proportion of unmarked past tense formation involves verbs forming past by the [Id] addition for the younger speakers strongly suggests that a phonological process may be largely responsible for the vestigial cases of unmarked tense among the younger speakers. On the other hand, such an explanation is not appropriate for the older speakers.

The primacy of the phonological explanation of unmarked tense usage for younger speakers as opposed to genuinely convergent processes (grammatical and phonological processes leading to the same surface form) is certainly not unique to verbs formed by the addition of [Id]. We will demonstrate this process later, when we show how the quantitative evidence supports a convergent explanation for cluster reduction among older speakers while a phonological explanation as primary among younger speakers (cf. Section 3.3.1.2).

A comparison of three types of verb types in Table 3.1 suggests that unmarked tense is more prominent on non-cluster forming main verbs and _have_ than on _be_. That is, the tense marking pattern of a sentence such as _In the old days we eat tortillas_ or _In the old days we have tortillas_ would be more probable than _In the old days, there are lots of tortillas_, although both may occur. This pattern is more apparent among speakers over 40 years of age, who evidence more than the vestigial incidence of unmarked past. For this group, there does not appear to be any consistent difference between unmarked tense for _have_ and other non-cluster forming main verbs, although _be_ is generally unmarked less frequently. We conclude, then, that there is at least one possible constraint on the relative frequence of unmarked tense, namely, whether it is a _be_ or non-_be_ form. We shall have more to say about this later in our discussion.

In Table 3.1, our tabulation was limited to unmarked tense on three different kinds of main verbs. In English, however, tense marking is not limited to the main verb. In fact, when there is an auxiliary present, the tense is typically marked on the auxiliary (e.g. _He has/had taken_; _He is/was going_; _He will/would go_). And, if there is more than one auxiliary present, then tense is marked on the first auxiliary (e.g. *He has/had been going*; *He will/would have been home*). In this context, we may extend our tabulation of tense marking in SJE by looking at tense marking on several different types of auxiliaries. This investigation can serve two purposes: (1) to see if unmarked tense in SJE differs based on the distinction between an auxiliary and main verb and (2) to see if there is a difference between types of auxiliaries themselves in relation to the pattern of unmarked tense. In Table 3.3, we have tabulated the incidence of unmarked tense in auxiliary constructions for the same 20 speakers we tabulated in Table 3.1. Five different categories of auxiliaries are distinguished in this tabulation: (1) *be + ing* progressive forms (e.g. *He is/was coming home when he broke down*); (2) *have + en* perfect forms (e.g. *They have/had taken the cross before they came*); (3) *do* support (e.g. *In our times we will/would go to the school in Santa Fe*); and (5) the modal *can* (e.g. *They can/could build the adobe home years ago*). A delimitation on this basis can give us some indication as to the patterning of tense for a range of auxiliary constructions. For ease in comparing the figures for unmarked tense in main verb and auxiliary forms, Table 3.4 summarizes the group scores for the figures tabulated in Tables 3.1 and 3.3.

Speaker	be + ing		have + en		do Support		will		can	
Number	Non/Pot	%	Abs/Pot	%	Abs/Pot	%	Abs/Pot	%	Abs/Pot	%
					10-19 Year Old					
116	0/39	6.0	--		0/11	0.0	1/11	9.1	0/9	0.0
117	0/21	0.0	--		1/18	5.6	0/8	0.0	1/2	50.0
119	1/16	6.3	0/3	0.0	0/14	0.0	1/23	4.3	0/17	0.0
120	0/54	0.0	--		0/31	0.0	2/17	11.8	0/10	0.0
150	0/32	0.0	--		0/27	0.0	1/8	12.5	0/6	0.0
Total	1/162	0.6	0/3	0.0	1/101	0.0	5/67	7.5	1/44	2.3
					20-39 Year Old					
94	0/1	0.0	--		0/4	0.0	8/36	22.2	3/5	60.0
105	0/1	0.0	--		0/1	0.0	0/2	0.0	--	
114	0/8	0.0	0/4	0.0	1/12	8.3	0/8	0.0	1/4	25.0
126	0/4	0.0	--		0/7	0.0	0/2	0.0	0/2	0.0
187	0/5	0.0	--		1/33	3.0	1/9	11.1	0/4	0.0
Total	0/19	0.0	0/4	0.0	2/57	3.5	9/57	15.8	4/15	26.7
					40-59 Year Old					
79	0/5	0.0	1/1	100.0	0/6	0.0	0/1	0.0	1/2	50.0
80	0/65	0.0	1/10	10.0	0/53	0.0	0/23	0.0	0/11	0.0
130	1/7	14.2	1/4	25.0	1/16	6.3	2/16	12.5	--	
104	0/12	0.0	1/2	50.0	2/29	6.9	2/12	16.7	0/1	0.0
106	1/5	20.0	--		16/41	39.0	11/19	57.9	3/5	60.0
Total	2/94	2.1	4/17	23.5	19/145	13.1	15/71	21.1	4/19	21.1
					60 and Older					
127	0/1	0.0	--		1/3	33.3	0/1	0.0	--	
87	0/6	0.0	--		1/27	3.7	5/8	62.5	1/3	33.3
129	--		--		1/3	33.3	--		--	
102	1/11	9.1	--		1/14	7.1	2/7	28.6	--	
103	0/15	0.0	--		0/12	0.0	--		0/2	0.0
Total	1/33	3.0	--		4/59	6.8	7/16	43.8	1/5	20.0

Table 3.3. The Incidence of Unmarked Past Tense in Auxiliaries Among Four Age Groups of San Juan English Speakers.

	Main Verb			Auxiliaries				
	Non-Cluster Main Verb % Unmarked	be %	have %	be + ing %	have + en %	do Support %	will %	can %
10-19 Year Old Group	1.7	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	7.5	2.3
20-39 Year Old Group	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	15.8	26.7
40-59 Year Old Group	13.6	6.8	23.8	2.1	23.5	13.1	21.1	21.4
60 and Older Group	16.5	5.0	11.8	3.0	--	6.8	43.8	20.0

Table 3.4. Comparison of Group Figures for Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Different Types of Main Verbs and Auxiliaries in San Juan English.

While there is no overall frequency distinction based on the simple delimitation of auxiliaries and main verbs, several important patterns in unmarked tense usage do emerge on the basis of our consideration of Tables 3.3 and 3.4. In the first place, there is a higher level of unmarked tense on the modals *will* and *can* as opposed to other auxiliaries. In fact, the frequency level of unmarked tense for these modals is generally higher than it is for the main verbs. In this regard, it is the one structure for which we might posit anything more than incidental unmarked tense realization for the younger groups of speakers. In all other categories of auxiliaries and main verbs, we have maintained that there exists only vestigial cases of unmarked tense for the younger groups of speakers, but this apparently is not the case for the modals. There are individual speakers in these younger groups (e.g. Speaker 94) who still reveal substantial levels of unmarked tense realization for the modals.

In Tables 3.3 and 3.4, there are two forms which may function either as an auxiliary or as a main verb, namely *be* and *have*. An examination of these disparate functions does not, however, suggest a difference based on the distinct uses. That is, it does not appear to make any difference whether *be* functions in a context such as *He is/was in the house yesterday* or *He is/was going home yesterday* or whether have functions in a context such as *They have/had four fields at the time* or *They have/had planted four fields until that time*. The lack of distinction here reinforces our conclusion that the function of a form as auxiliary or main verb is not an essential consideration in accounting for different frequencies of unmarked tense. *Do* seems to fall in between have and be in terms of the frequency of unmarked tense realization, although it does not appear to be as consistent as other forms we have considered.

In the previous tabulations, all of the different categories tabulated were based on the form of the item which carries tense. At this point, we want to look at the possibility that the realization of unmarked past tense correlates with a meaning rather than form difference. With this in mind, we have tabulated the incidence of unmarked past tense on the basis of one semantic distinction -- the distinction between what we shall refer to here as "habitual" versus "non-habitual" meaning. We may follow Comrie in defining habituality in the following way:

> The feature that is common to all habituals, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is not viewed as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period. (1976:27-28)

In the context of our discussion of past tense marking, we are feferring to those cases where the habitual activity or event took place at some prior time, as in examples such as the following:

(16) a. We useta go in the wagon with my family, boys help their Daddy, and when the train is coming, the kids useta run there and, how was it, they called the conductor, the conductor useta get candy and throw it. (102:11)

b. Kids now go bowling, and we don't do that during our time. (127:1)

c. Well, we all have to speak English when we went to school. (129:3)

In cases such as (16), the activity is one which characterizes a period of time rather than a single point in time. Within that period, which was prior to the present, the activity was one which was distributed throughout the time frame. For example, (16a), which specifically uses the peniphrastic past habitual useta in the conjoined sentences, the train would come at various intervals throughout the period. Similarly, in (16b) we see that bowling was an activity which did not occur as a characteristic activity during the period of time and the speaking of English (16c) was a requirement which occurred repeatedly throughout the time frame.

In Table 3.5, the number of unmarked past tense forms in the context of habituality is contrasted with the non-habitual events which took place in some prior time frame (e.g. One time we go to the fiesta and saw this man). Most typically, the non-habitual category here consists of single event narratives of the past. Some of the form distinctions we found earlier are retained in our distinctions set up in Table 3.5. We distinguish main verbs from be and do. The category main verbs here conflates previous figures with have since no difference was established in previous tabulations. Auxiliary and non-auxiliary functions of be are collapsed into one category here also, since no difference in tense marking was established in prior tabulations. Modals will and can, particularly will, have a particular past tense semantic content which we will take up in our ensuing discussion, so that they are eliminated from consideration in Table 3.5.

	Main Verb				be				do			
Speaker	Non-Hab		Hab		Non-Hab		Hab		Non-Hab		Hab	
	Non-P/T	%	Non-P/T	%	Non-P/T	%	Non-P/T	%	Non-P/T	%	Non-P/T	%
					10-19 Year Old							
116	0/81	0.0	0/3	0.0	0/78	0.0	0/12	0.0	0/8	0.0	0/3	0.0
117	0/34	0.0	0/6	0.0	0/53	0.0	0/6	0.0	1/15	6.7	0/3	0.0
119	0/103	0.0	0/19	0.0	1/40	2.5	0/11	0.0	0/12	0.0	--	
120	0/142	0.0	0/19	0.0	0/121	0.0	0/18	0.0	0/22	0.0	0/9	0.0
150	0/142	0.0	5/26	19.2	0/83	0.0	1/18	5.6	0/23	0.0	0/4	0.0
Total	0/602	0.0	5/73	6.8	1/375	0.3	1/65	1.5	1/80	1.3	0/19	0.0
					20-39 Year Old							
94	0/7	0.0	0/8	0.0	0/6	0.0	0/3	0.0	0/2	0.0	0/2	0.0
105	0/9	0.0	4/10	40.0	0/8	0.0	0/6	0.0	0/1	0.0	--	
114	0/38	0.0	1/11	9.1	0/30	0.0	0/18	0.0	1/10	10.0	0/2	0.0
126	0/32	0.0	0/6	0.0	0/12	0.0	0/12	0.0	0/2	0.0	0/5	0.0
187	0/18	0.0	1/11	9.1	0/18	0.0	0/8	0.0	0/26	0.0	1/7	14.3
Total	0/104	0.0	6/46	13.0	0/74	0.0	0/47	0.0	1/41	2.4	1/16	6.3
					40-59 Year Old							
79	0/14	0.0	4/6	66.7	0/8	0.0	0/5	0.0	0/4	0.0	0/2	0.0
80	3/245	1.2	2/37	5.4	0/92	0.0	0/63	0.0	0/33	0.0	0/20	0.0
130	5/54	9.3	14/22	63.6	0/47	0.0	1/20	5.0	0/8	0.0	1/8	12.5
104	6/125	4.8	5/26	19.2	2/43	4.7	3/28	10.7	0/21	0.0	2/8	25.0
106	3/35	8.6	47/64	73.4	1/23	4.3	12/39	30.8	4/16	25.0	12/25	48.0
Total	17/473	3.6	72/155	46.5	3/213	1.4	16/155	7.5	4/82	4.9	15/63	23.8
					60 and Older							
127	0/5	0.0	1/2	50.0	0/2	0.0	0/3	0.0	0/2	0.0	1/1	100.0
87	1/39	2.6	2/8	25.0	1/21	4.8	1/8	12.5	0/22	0.0	1/5	20.0
129	2/3	66.7	3/4	75.0	1/3	33.3	0/2	0.0	0/2	0.0	1/1	100.0
102	2/31	6.5	6/16	37.5	0/26	0.0	2/22	9.1	1/7	14.3	0/7	0.0
103	2/21	9.5	2/17	11.8	1/17	5.9	0/29	0.0	0/5	0.0	0/7	0.0
Total	7/99	7.1	13/47	27.7	3/69	4.3	3/64	4.7	1/38	2.6	3/21	14.3

Table 3.5. Incidence of Unmarked Tense in Non-Habitual and Habitual Contexts for Four Age Groups of San Juan English Speakers.

Table 3.5 indicates a clear-cut preference for unmarked past tense when the activity or event is habitual. This pattern appears to occur regardless of the verb form, but is most prominent with main verbs. Although we cannot discount the occurrence of unmarked past tense in non-habitual contexts altogether, the tabulation clearly suggests that 'habituality' is apparently an important formal constraint favoring the realization of unmarked past tense in SJE.

The prominence of habituality as a constraint favoring unmarked past tense is clearly illustrated by looking at the types of temporal adverbs which occur with unmarked past forms. While habitual past tense may be indicated by a number of different mechanisms within a language, temporal adverbs provide one of the most explicit indications of this semantic reference. It is therefore instructive to look at those forms which mark past habitual events. Consider, for example, the following inventory, which gives the form used for past habituality and the number of times it coocurs with unmarked past tense forms.

(17) a. periphrastic past habitual *useta* (19)[7]

We *useta* have about two or three rooms and we *have* a fireplace. (106:6)

b. temporal phrase at that/the time (14)

No, *at that time,* we *don't* think about going dancing. (106:12)

c. temporal phrase *in those/our/my days* (7)

And, *in those days* we *don't* remember too much, you know, like now, gosh, they know everything.

d. temporal adverb *nowadays/now* (implying comparison with prior time) (13)

We were very poor when we were young. When they *give* us a nickel that *means* a lot, and *nowadays*, the kids don't want a nickel. (130:5).

e. adverbial *before*

Well, now they are, but *before* they *aren't*. (104:13)[8]

f. temporal phrase *in the old times/days* (3)

Not *in the old days,* they *don't* let us go anywhere. (129:3)

g. temporal phrase during our time (2)

Kids now go bowling and we don't have that during our time. (127:1)

The pattern of explicit temporal reference indicated in sentences like (17) strongly supports the interpretation of past habituality as a favoring constraint for unmarked past tense. By contrast, the incidence of single event adverbs (e.g. right then, at that moment) co-occurring with unmarked past tense seems quite limited, although we do have infrequent attestations of such combinations.

It is further noted that the explicit use of habitual past adverbs eliminates potential ambiguity in interpreting the time frame of sentences in SJE. There appears to be a heavier reliance upon temporal adverbs for establishing the time/aspect relations of SJE than might be found in other varieties which explicitly mark past tense more regularly. Impressionistically, there seems to be a higher incidence of temporal adverbs in SJE compared to some other varieties of English, perhaps as a compensatory process for unmarked past tense. Together with other linguistic clauses which explicitly set the time frame (e.g. When we were kids... When we were young...) and non-linguistic clues to temporality, there are very few instances in our corpus that remain authentically ambiguous as to their time frame. Quite clearly, in SJE, mechanisms other than explicit tense marking are relied upon more heavily to set the temporal/aspect framework.

3.2.1.3 The Source of Unmarked Tense

In the preceding sections, we have been content to offer a description of the current status of unmarked tense in SJE. We have seen that some aspects of unmarked tense might be explained as the result of phonological processes, but a grammatical basis for some unmarked tense must be admitted, particularly for older speakers. We have further demonstrated that unmarked tense is a variable phenomenon in that sometimes it occurs and other times it does not, and that certain linguistic constraints favor the incidence of unmarked tense. Among these are certain verb form

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differences such as main verbs as opposed to be and modals vis-a-vis other auxiliaries. One of the most interesting discoveries, however, was that unmarked tense was favored in certain semantic contexts, namely, those referring to a past habitual activity or condition. While we do not maintain that the use of unmarked tense with habituality is a unique semantic category within SJE (since it is a quantitatively favoring context rather than a qualitatively exclusive one), our discovery is sufficiently striking to warrant some explanation. Given the descriptive facts, we want to know why the SJE system may have developed the way it has, and how we can account for the current use of unmarked tense. Of necessity, our explanation is somewhat speculative and therefore should be treated more as a hypothesis than a definitive conclusion. Our only claim is that this explanation appears reasonable in light of the historical facts concerning language contact and the structural facts concerning the primary languages involved.

Given the language situation that existed in San Juan historically, it seems most plausible to view the current system of unmarked past tense as the ultimate product of language contact. This development naturally evolved through a number of different stages. In the initial stage, which took place during the incipient stages of learning English, it is expected that tense marking would frequently be absent, regardless of the function or form of the verb. Such strategies of second language learning are sufficiently well-documented to predict unmarked tense regardless of the language background of the speaker (e.g. Frith 1977). This is simply a stage of the "pidginization" process, which takes place in the initial stages of learning another language. This particular stage of unmarked tense realization is not of primary concern here, since it is quite general in nature, and, according to all indications, is a limited transitional period during a person's acquisition of a second language (cf. Frith 1976:72-85).

At a subsequent stage in second language acquisition, tense marking becomes a genuinely varibale phenomenon, sometimes taking place and sometimes not. While certain structured constraints on the variability may take place regardless of the language background of the speaker, the potential for specific interplay of the source and target language certainly might be expected to become more prominent at this point. It is also possible that aspects of variability become fossilized for some speakers as a part of the stabilized English system. This is certainly what might have taken place for some of the SJE speakers who learned English as a second (and secondary) language historically. This variable stage of unmarked past tense is of most importance in our consideration here.

Given the variability we discussed previously, there are two main types of facts we want to explain with reference to the SJE system: (1) why is unmarked tense so heavily favored in "habitual" contexts and (2) why is unmarked tense more prominent on some verb forms than others? For an answer to the first question we can appeal to both the source and target language structures. According to Speirs (1966:129), verbs in Tewa may be overtly marked for, among other categories, 'habitual' aspect. While Speirs' sketch of the Tewa verb system is quite limited, and in some ways must be considered inadequate, it is interesting to note that 'habituality' is an overtly marked verb category within the source language, contrasting with 'completive' aspect. According to Speirs (1966:129), the habitual "shows action done habitually"; on the other hand, completive "shows the action as completed" and "the majority of instances correspond to English past tense" (1966:129). While correspondences between the Tewa and English time/aspect system must be viewed with suspicion, given their quite different metalinguistic categorization, it is probably safe to conclude that the category habituality is less inclined to imply a time dimension (e.g. past/non-past) than the category completive. For a speaker confronted with a new system, which overtly marks past time, we might therefore predict that habituality would be less prone to conform to the time marking constraints of the target language than the category completive. What we are suggesting, then, is that the emerging variety of English was restructured in such a way as to reflect a distinction primary in the source language. In its most simple (and probably over-simplified form), we can say that habituality is preserved to some extent in the unmarking of tense.

While the appeal to the ancestral language may help explain the favored incidence of habituality with unmarked tense, we still have not explained why some verb forms should be less prone to have unmarked tense than other forms independent of the constraint of habituality. The most notable distinction in our tabulation is, of course, the difference between _be_ forms and other forms. At this point, an understanding of the English system seems appropriate in our explanation.

It will be recalled here that one of the alternative explanations for unmarked past is _would_ reduction and deletion. As it turns out, one of the primary functions of _would_ is past habituality, as Palmer, among others, notes:

> The past tense forms, are, however, used widely to refer to _habitual_ activity. This is especially true of _would_, which may refer to habitual activity of any kind, not merely in the restricted sense of _will_: _She'd sit there for hours, I'd go to school every day_. (1965:121)

For many verbs, it may be possible to interpret the forms used in habitual contexts as derived through _would_ deletion. We earlier discounted this as an exclusive explanation, but nonetheless, there are cases which may remain ambiguous, such as the following:

(19) ...at that time we _don't_, we were lucky if we _get_ a nickel. (106:7)

An item like _get_ in the above sentence might be interpreted as derived from _would_ (e.g. _we were lucky if we'd get a nickel_) or it might be considered as a case of grammatically-based unmarked past tense. Many non-_be_ verb forms allow such an interpretation. On the other hand, _be_ forms do not allow such a possibility since, unlike non-_be_ verbs, they consistently distinguish the finite and non-finite forms. Only cases where a verb maintains the same finite and non-finite form can be ambiguous with respect to _would_ deletion, since _would_ occurs only with non-finite forms of the verb. This is best demonstrated through an illustrative example, such as (20):

(20) Well, now they are, but before they _aren't_. (104:13)

Obviously, a sentence such as (20) could not allow the possible interpretation that it is derived from _would_, since we do not get sentences such as (21):

(21) *Well, now they are, but before they'd aren't.[9]

The possibility of interpreting non-be forms (19) as the product of would deletion as opposed to the elimination of this possibility for be forms (20) might then be the basis for a greater incidence of unmarked past tense on these forms.

It must be remembered here that one of the constant pressures of a system such as SJE is conformity to the normative English system. There is a delicate balance between maintaining a distinct non-mainstream system and conforming to the prescriptive norms of mainstream varieties of English. In this light, the use of unmarked tense which does not have an alternative explanation as which deletion would be considerably more obtrusive than one that did not, even if they had the same grammatical basis within the indigenous system. Consider, for example, three sentences such as the following:

(22) a. In our times, we go home early in the evening.
b. In our times, we eat at home early in the evening.
c. In our times, we are at home early in the evening.

While all three sentences might, on one level, be considered non-normative utterances in standard English, the sentences appear ordered with respect to their social obtrusiveness as non-mainstream structures. A sentence such as (22a), in the context of natural conversation, would not typically call attention to itself as non-standard, since it might simply be interpreted as a product of the phonological rule of would reduction and deletion we discussed earlier. That is, it might simply be perceived as a form of a sentence such as (23):

(23) In our times, we'd go home early in the evening.

Although a sentence such as (22b) would not be subject to the same process, since the verb form begins with a vowel, (and SJE does not delete d before vowels), it might still be viewed as closely related to its would counterpart, as in (24):

(24) In our times, we'd eat at home early in the evening.

Since, however, a finite form of be is used in (22c), it would not allow a comparable interpretation of the sentence such as:

(25) *In our times, we'd are at home early in the evening.

Without a possible interpretation of be related to a close surface form in standard English, we might expect it to be more pressured to conform to the normative system than those forms which allow an explanation which conforms to mainstream structure.

It might also be pointed out that be involves a single, quite irregular form of a verb whose past and non-past inflected form must be learned as a separate item. Other verbs involve more general patterns of past and non-past tense formation. We have seen in other sections (cf.), that non-mainstream patterns relating to a single item are sometimes more apt to conform to the normative form than those involving a general pattern. We conclude that the difference in be and non-be unmarked tense forms might reasonably be explained on the basis of the peculiarities of the form be compared with other verbs.

One final difference in unmarked tense among various forms is left to explain, namely, the higher level of unmarked tense on the modals will and can, particularly as it is maintained among some younger speakers of SJE. In this regard, it must be noted that English modals, particularly can and will, are limited in their tense marking functions compared to other functions (e.g. potentiality, conditionality, etc.). While some uses of these forms still mark past time, Palmer notes (1965:122) that "in the case of the modal auxiliaries, not all the past tense forms are used simply to refer to past time". Without getting into the complexities of the modals marked with a so-called past, it may simply be pointed out that differences in unmarked past modals are probably not as obtrusive in their divergence from standard English as other forms. With diminished function of a tense marking for modals to begin with, we would suggest that there is lessened pressure to conform to the mainstream norm of past tense marking. This would account for the maintenance of unmarked tense on some modals in the current generation of speakers, and the increased incidence compared to other forms indicated by some older speakers.

If nothing else, the discussion of unmarked tense in SJE has demonstrated that there is no simple explanation for this phenomenon. We have seen that there are a number of different processes which may lead to a surface form on which tense is not overtly marked. There are several phonological processes and some alternative grammatical bases which may account for the surface forms. In the case of SJE, we suggest that some of these processes converge to explain the actual incidence of unmarked tense. Despite alternative phonological and grammatical operations which might account for the incidence of unmarked tense, we maintain that there is a basic grammatical difference in the tense marking system of SJE and mainstream varieties of English. There is, however, no simplistic explanation which can account for the overall pattern of unmarked tense in SJE.

We have seen that it is quite possible for a non-mainstream variety of English to restructure the tense marking system in a way which systematically differs from mainstream varieties, and that this system cannot simply be considered as a faulty approximation of the mainstream variety. The system may restructure itself to reflect distinctions found in the system of aspect/tense marking of the ancestral language, but this relationship need not be isomorphic or categorical. Rather, it may be a fairly complex relationship which takes into account properties of the source and target languages in arriving at the resultant system. Furthermore, there is some indication that the structural facts of the languages involved do not operate apart from certain social considerations in terms of the norms of mainstream varieties of English.

Although the ultimate picture of tense marking in SJE might seem somewhat complex compared to treatments of this phenomenon in other contexts, we do not apologize for the intricacies which have brought about the current situation. Language contact, development, and restructuring are indeed complex processes which must necessarily take into account a number of detailed linguistic and non-linguistic considerations. Without taking into account the various aspects we have treated here, there can emerge no authentic picture of the variety in question. Other treatments of this phenomenon in varieties of Indian English should be advised that the simplistic citation of forms not overtly marked for past tense will not suffice as a description of unmarked tense in any variety of English.

3.2.2 Pleonastic Tense Marking

In the previous section, we looked at examples in SJE where tense was not realized within the verb phrase. Where the standard English correspondence would require tense to be marked, SJE did not mark it. This, however, is not the only pattern of divergence for tense marking which can be found for some SJE speakers. In SJE there exists a group of speakers who may, on occasion, realize tense more than once within the verb phrase. This is unlike the standard English system, where the marking of tense in the verb phrase takes place at one point only within the phrase. The standard English rule specifies that tense is marked on the verb if there is no auxiliary present, but if an auxiliary is present, the auxiliary rather than the verb is marked for tense. Thus, a sentence such as *He went home* has the verb marked for tense, while the addition of the *do* auxiliary in a question form such as *Did he go home*? marks the auxiliary for tense. This rule of tense placement is fairly regular in many varieties of English and has been described in detail in most grammatical descriptions of the standard English verb phrase.

Some SJE speakers indicate that tense may be marked on both the auxiliary and the verb form, thus creating what we refer to as redundant or "pleonastic tense marking". The rule simply copies the tense marking within the verb phrase on both the auxiliary form, particularly *do*, and the main verb. Constructions of this type are commonly found when *do* is introduced in the formation of a question, as in (26):

(26) a. *Did* you *caught* a fly? (117:63)
b. *Did* you *did* good? (187:154)
c. *Did* you *wanted* to take PE? (186:116)

Since the formation of negative sentences may also involve the introduction of *do*, we also find it quite commonly in these constructions:

(27) a. *I didn't saw* no snakes. (87:5)
b. I *didn't had* a boyfriend till my second year. (106:182)
c. I *didn't slept*. (103a:241)

Pleonastic tense marking can further be manifested in contexts where *do* has an emphatic function, so that we get it in sentences such as the following:

(28) a. We really did had lotta fun. (106:275)

b. The teacher sure did worked hard (102a:48)

The types of examples given above clearly indicate that pleonastic tense marking is possible wherever do functions as an auxiliary to a main verb. We also have several isolated cases where pleonastic tense marking takes place with modals or quasi-modals, but these are not nearly as frequent:

(29) a. Our mens useta hauled it by the wagon. (103a:93)

b. I wouldn't wanted to go when somebody doesn't want the Indians around their fiesta. (106a:43) (Spoken at a time when the fiesta had not yet taken place.)

Only a limited subset of speakers who have the rule with the auxiliary do extend it to the modals as well, but we have no speakers who have pleonastic tense marking with modals, but not do. In this regard, it should be noted that one of the primary functions of do is to carry tense when the rules of English require tense to be moved away from the main verb. In this respect, it has a more essential tense carrying function than some of the other auxiliaries which might be marked for tense, such as the modals. Accordingly, we might expect pleonastic tense marking more frequently with do than with other auxiliaries such as the modals.

Speakers who realize pleonastic tense marking naturally fluctuate between this, the standard English tense marking system where only the auxiliary is marked for the tense, and the SJE pattern of unmarked tense we discussed above. Fluctuation can even be found within the same sentence in coordinate constructions, as in (30).

(30) Did everyone in your class speak Indian or did everybody spoke English? (107:97)

There are apparently no constraints on which form might be first in such a coordinate construction since the same speaker who uttered the above sentence where the pleonastic form is in the second part of the coordinate also uttered the following sentence, where the pleonastic form is first.

(31) Did everyone in your class spoke English or did you speak Indian?

Even speakers who have a number of examples of pleonastic tense marking use it quite variably, and typically indicate it in less than half of all the instances where it might have been used.

The majority of our examples of pleonastic tense marking involve irregular verb forms or "long" forms of the regular past tense formation. In irregular verb forms, the past tense is formed through some internal change rather than the simple addition of a suffix to the verb form (e.g. speak/spoke, do/did, catch/caught). In a long form of the regular past tense (taking place after t or d), we have the addition of a syllable (e.g. want/want[Id], hate/hat[Id]). Regular, "non-long" past tense forms, however, are realized by the addition of a consonant (t or d), in many cases resulting in a consonant cluster (e.g. kick/kick[t], miss/miss[t]). Since many non-long, regular past tense forms end in consonant clusters, they are subject to the operation of consonant cluster reduction discussed elsewhere (cf. Section 3.3.1). Consonant cluster reduction has the effect of eliminating the past tense marker realized as the final member of the cluster. Thus, the verb phrase would not appear to be marked pleonastically even if it had been intended. The operation of a separate pronunciation rule, then, may account for the reduced incidence of pleonastic tense marking with regular verbs ending in a consonant cluster. (Less than 10 percent of the pleonastically marked forms involve verbs ending in a cluster.)

3.2.2.1 The Source of Pleonastic Tense Marking

Historically, the existence of pleonastic tense marking in SJE is probably best viewed as a product of overgeneralization in learning the English tense system rather than a type of transfer from potential source languages such as Tewa or Spanish. We have seen that Tewa does not mark tense in any way parallel to English, so we can hardly attribute it to influence from the Tewa verbal system. And Spanish, which has been shown to have some influence in other areas, only marks tense once in the verb phrase, like English; furthermore, it has no parallel requirement of an auxiliary (something like do) for certain types of negative or question constructions. In a similar vein, the non-mainstream varieties of Anglo English which might be candidates as a potential source for this structure do not typically realize this phenomenon. There is, however, good reason to conclude that a general acquisitional strategy is responsible for the emergence of this construction.

First of all, we can observe that pleonastic tense marking is found in a number of different studies of second language acquisition, with the source languages in these studies representing quite different language backgrounds (e.g. Raven 1974:167, Taylor 1975:86, Wolfram 1974:159). While cross-language data is far from complete, all the evidence from other studies suggests that it can be found for speakers learning English as a second language, regardless of their first language. This observation thus meets one of the essential criteria we established earlier for attributing a structure to the general acquisitional strategy.

The second factor supporting our interpretation comes from the type of process which pleonastic tense marking represents within the English system. Pleonastic tense marking is typical of the generalization (or "overgeneralization") strategy that is quite common in second language (and, at certain stages, first language) acquisition. In fact, this structure has been cited as a prime example of generalization as a process accounting for divergence in second language acquisition.

> One of the major characteristics of the overgeneralization strategy is that it results in a simplification of the syntactic system of the target language. ...when he [i.e. the language learner] produces the sentence Did they studied last night? he indicates that this rule says that because the sentence is past, all verbs are in the past. ...The target language rule which requires that a verb in the past tense be in the simple form when it follows a modal or do in a question has been simplified to one which requires that a verb in the past tense always carries the tense marker.
> Taylor 1975:86-87

Selinker makes a similar observation:

> Speakers of many languages could produce a sentence of the following kind in their English IL [Interlanguage].
> (1) What did he intended to say?
> where the past tense morpheme -ed is extended to an environment in which, to the learner, it could possibly apply but just does not. (1974:121)

The generalization process resulting in this construction may be seen in terms of several different stages of acquisition, though, of course, different stages may be present at the same time in a single speaker. In the most preliminary stage of second language acquisition there exists neither tense marking on verbs nor auxiliaries which co-occur with verbs (e.g. *Yesterday he no go*). In another stage, tense may be marked on verbs while the auxiliary system is still not developed to any detailed extent (e.g. *Yesterday he no went*). As auxiliaries are acquired, however, the tense originally placed on the verb is simply copied onto the auxiliary while being maintained on the verb as well (e.g. *Yesterday he didn't went*).[10] It is at this point that the English rule is extended or generalized to include both the auxiliary and the verb form. For some speakers, the system might be fossilized at this stage, so that the pleonastic tense marking becomes an integral part of their English system. The fact that it might stabilize at this point for some speakers, however, does not detract from its historical derivation as a product of a language acquisition strategy.

Reinforcement for the general acquisitional source of pleonastic tense marking comes from the occurrence of pleonastic tense marking in the process of first language acquisition. It has been demonstrated (Taylor 1975) that many of the general acquisition strategies found in second language learners are identical to those found in first language acquisition. Generalization is certainly one of these processes. Wolfram (1974:224) notes that pleonastic tense marking is a fairly common phenomenon among children learning English as a first language. The fact that first language learners go through a stage where pleonastic tense marking exists thus adds further justification for the interpretation given here.

Although, at first glance, it might appear ironic that pleonastic tense marking should coexist in the same variety which also exhibits a considerable amount of unmarked tense, it is not uncommon for unmarked categories to fluctuate with redundantly marked categories in the acquisitional process. "Over-marking" is often an expected reaction to the natural tendency for "under-marking" in the dynamics of language learning. From this perspective, pleonastic tense marking might be seen as a type of "hypercorrection" in SJE, where tense is more generally marked when, in fact, it is marked. Some of the same speakers reveal significant amounts of both unmarked tense and pleonastic tense marking, indicating the potential for such co-existence.

An examination of pleonastic tense marking across the spectrum of ages represented by our speakers suggests that this construction will probably not persist as a characteristic form of SJE. It is typically only found among middle-aged or older speakers -- those who learned Tewa prior to their learning of English. In fact, 8 of the 9 speakers who use this form in their interview are over the age of 25. This age/language background distribution further supports our contention that it exists as a fossilized by-product of a second language learning strategy, which has stablized to some extent, but has no real future in the maintenance of SJE. We would speculate that occasional instances of pleonastic tense marking found among some younger SJE speakers (e.g. under age 10) are attributable to developmental vestiges of first language acquisition and not due to the transmission of this structure from older speakers.

3.2.3 Irregular Verbs

The formation of the so-called "irregular verbs" in English is one of the important variables in distinguishing mainstream varieties from non-mainstream varieties of English. Irregular verbs also have been shown to vary considerably among various non-mainstream varieties. For example, speakers of Appalachian English exhibit fairly extensive use of nonstandard irregular forms of certain types (Wolfram and Christian 1976). The examination of forms of irregular verbs in SJE can thus be instructive as an indicator of the status of this variety with respect to other non-mainstream varieties, as well as to mainstream varieties.

Irregular verbs in English are those which follow patterns of past tense formation other than the addition of the suffix -ed, the regular ending. A regular verb, such as look, occurs in both the preterit (they looked) and the past participle (they have looked) with the simple -ed suffix. Irregular verbs, on the other hand, undergo a variety of changes and some have the same forms for both preterit and past participle(bring/brought/have brought) while others have different forms for the two functions. (see/saw/have seen, sing/sang/have sung). In most cases, these verbs are related to verbs which were also "irregular" in earlier varieties of English, although the patterns involved and the distribution among classes have changed considerably (Pyles 1964).

Compared to other varieties which have been studied, we may say that SJE is characterized on the whole by a relatively low degree of nonstandard usage of irregular forms. In an examination of 21 different speakers, only 28 instances of nonstandard irregular verb formation were found. This is considerably below the level of usage we might find in comparable tabulations of other non-mainstream varieties of English. Although there are relatively few examples of irregular past forms which are different from what we would expect in standard English, certain observations about the variation are of interest.

A convenient way of characterizing the usage of irregular verb forms in SJE is according to the way in which they differ from the corresponding standard English form. This type of classification system has shown that different varieties may emphasize particular types of processes in their divergence from the corresponding standard form.

Certain patterns of difference can affect both preterit and past participle functions. In regularized forms, the productive past suffix -ed, in the appropriate phonological shape, is added for the past tense, giving, for example, selled rather than sold. Examples of regularized forms are found in (32).

(32) a. So he choosed Allen (85:24)
b. It hurted him, you know, it really hurted him. (80:13)
c. It would've lighted earlier. (116:29)
d. That bear, he was all beated up. (117:11)

We may also find what is considered a different irregular form, where the status of an irregular form is maintained, but one different from the standard English form. This is apparently quite rare in SJE, and only one instance is documented, the use of brang rather than brought.

(33) She brang her two bikes (117:3)

Another pattern occurs with verbs whose standard usage involves two different forms for the functions preterit and past participle.

In these cases, the form for one of the functions may be used for the other function. Thus, we may get a preterit form in past participle, as in the use of preterit came in the past participle (have came). Examples of this pattern are found in (34).

(34) a. They had went to the bingo that night, too. (85:9)
b. ...if I woulda did it. (116:24)

We may also get the participle form for preterit, as in sentences like (35).

(35) a. Some things ... that you done when you were small. (105:4)
b. When we were kids, all we seen was nothing but adobe homes. (106:16)

One final type of usage can be mentioned, in which the uninflected base word form represents a verb in the preterit and/or participle. This is an extension of the standard English pattern in which one form serves more than one grammatical function, such as put in They always put the food there, Yesterday they put the food there, and They have put the food there. One clear example of this structure is found in (36).

(36) I have never ride in that train (106:14)

Another potential application of this pattern exists in the use of come as a preterit form, as in (37):

(37) a. She also come up one time. (80:7)
b. ...and it come down again. (117:22)

However, since come is also the past participle form, these could be considered as instances of the process of participle forms used in preterit slots. In any case, these patterns describe the nonstandard alternates for irregular verb forms found in SJE. One possible exception is the use of [dr md] by two speakers as a past form of dream. This might be an instance of a different irregular form, [dr m], which is then regularized, to give [dr md]. An equally plausible explanation, however, is that the final segment of the standard past [dr mt] has undergone voicing assimilation to the preceding segment, [m], a phonological process (although somewhat unusual for SJE, see Section 3.3.2).

There is no apparent relationship between pattern or verb and extent of nonstandard usage for irregular verbs in SJE. Table 3.6 summarizes the instances found in the sample. The number of times each form occurs is given in parentheses.

Regularized	Preterit for Participle	Participle for Preterit	Base Word	Different Irregular
lighted (2)	went (2)	seen (3)	come (4)	brang (2)
hurted (2)	came (1)	done (1)	ride (1)	
selled (2)	did (1)			
stinked (2)				
choosed (1)				
bended (1)				
digged (1)				
beated (1)				
spreaded (1)				

Table 3.6. Patterns of Irregular Verb Forms in SJE

From Table 3.6, it would appear that regularized forms are the favored type of nonstandard usage in SJE. For our sample, this is true. However, of the 13 instances of regularization observed, 11 occurred in the speech of 10-12 year olds. This suggests that at least some of the regularizations may be developmental in nature since the inventory of irregular verbs may not be fully acquired at this age.

Some other interesting observations can be made when age groups of the speakers are taken into account. Table 3.7 summarizes the usage of nonstandard alternate forms for irregular verbs by age group.

Age Group	No. of Speakers	No. of Tokens
10-12	5	19
14-19	2	1
20-39	4	1
40-59	5	7
60 +	5	0
Total	21	28

Table 3.7. Tokens of Nonstandard Irregular Verb Forms by Age Group

From these figures, we can see that, while we might expect the older speakers to exhibit a higher degree of nonstandardness, this is clearly not the case. The number of speakers in each group who account for the nonstandard forms is also informative: 5 of 5 for the 10-12 year olds; 1 of 2 for the 14-20 year olds; 1 of 4 for the 20-39 year olds; 2 of 5 for the 40-59 year olds and 0 of 5 for those over 60. Considering that only 9 of the 21 speakers produce any nonstandard forms for this feature, and that the majority of tokens come from the 10-12 year old group where developmental factors may be contributing, we may conclude that SJE treats past tense irregular verbs in a basically standard way, with a very small amount of variation.

3.2.4 Auxiliary Deletion

Many varieties of English share a process by which auxiliary forms (i.e. have, do and forms of be which occur with verbs, as in have gone) may be deleted under certain circumstances -- which auxiliary forms can be deleted, when and how often. In SJE, auxiliary deletion operates, but only to a limited extent. When it does, constructions like (38) are produced:

(38) a. They been doing most of the buying. (114:3)
b. I been wanting her to come home. (104:1)
c. I seen one and I been in one. (119:8)

Each of these cases involves the absence or deletion of the auxiliary have, the type of auxiliary deletion which will concern us most here.

Because auxiliary deletion affects the composition of the verb phrase, it may appear to be a grammatical process. However, the omission of the auxiliary form is actually the result of a combination of phonological processes. Auxiliaries in all varieties can be contracted in many cases, giving We've for we have, he's for he has and so on. In the varieties allowing deletion, it is these contracted forms which are then deleted. Thus, the rules that result in contracted forms first apply, giving, for example, I've been; then the contraction 've is deleted, resulting in I been. The absence of have in a surface form is, therefore, due to the operation of phonological rules. This sequence accounts for the fact that deletion only occurs in those cases where contraction in standard English is possible. For a sentence like If the boss has gone home, they have too, contraction of the second auxiliary have is not allowed (*they've too) and neither is deletion (*they, too).

Auxiliary deletion in SJE, in comparison with other non-mainstream varieties of English, appears to be limited in a number of ways. First, in terms of frequency of occurrence, the actual incidence of deletion is low. Among the 21 speakers tabulated for this feature, only 12 speakers had any instances of auxiliary have deletion, and there were a total of only 22 tokens. The range of contexts in which have is deleted is also limited. Of the 22 examples, 19 involved been as the following form, as illustrated in the examples given above. The remaining 3 tokens included 2 with gone and 1 with seen, as in:

(38) The farthest I gone is Oklahoma. (126:5)

From this, we can see that co-occurence in a construction with been is the most favorable context for deletion of auxiliary have in SJE. Finally, the inventory of auxiliaries that can be deleted is more limited in SJE than in some varieties of English. Vernacular Black English, for example, allows deletion of the auxiliaries will, would and forms of be, as well as forms of have. (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:158) While there appear to be some instances of will and would deletion in SJE, they were not tabulated for discussion here since the absence of these auxiliaries may result from or interact with different processes. (cf. Section 3.1.1 and Section 3.3.2) Overall we can say that auxiliary deletion, while occurring in SJE, is fairly restricted in its use.

Although the numbers are small, the distribution of instances of have deletion by age group is rather interesting. Table 3.8 displays the number of tokens by age group.

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Age Group	No. of Tokens
10-19 (n = 7)	2
20-39 (n = 4)	4
40-59 (n = 5)	7
60 + (n = 5)	9

Table 3.8. Instances of have-deletion by age group.

We can observe that the incidence of have-deletion is higher in the older groups. If the totals were higher, we might speculate that auxiliary have deletion is being lost in SJE. The difference between age levels however, is not, nearly as dramatic as that indicated for some of the other linguistic structures we examine.

3.2.5 Subject-Verb Concord

The grammatical relationship of "agreement" or "concord" between the subject and verb of a sentence is an area where differences between varieties of English can often be found. Mainstream varieties follow one pattern for the most part (although judgments on what is standard vary in some cases (Morgan 1972)); non-mainstream varieties often allow alternative agreement patterns. The kinds of alternative patterns can be seen as a characteristic of a particular variety of English. In this section, we explore the variation in agreement patterns in SJE, which include instances such as the following:

(39) One of them make pottery. (79:5)

(40) He have eleven kids. (103:1)

(41) The other two or three goes on the other side. (106:1)

(42) The railroad tracks isn't there anymore. (130:9)

Although the agreement system in earlier stages of the English language was fairly extensive, the process is relatively limited in present-day English. The distinctions among subjects that may be reflected in inflections on verbs in English are person (first, second or third) and number (singular or plural). Depending on the verb entering into the agreement relationship, differences in form may correspond to various groups of these features. For example, main verbs such as go make only one distinction; the third person singular present tense form is goes; the form for first and second person singular and all persons plural is go. No distinctions for person or number are made in the past tense (i.e., went) for these verbs. The relevant standard patterns will be discussed further in the sections below.

The following discussion is divided into two parts based on the type of verb involved in the concord relationship, namely, be and non-be verbs. This will allow us to give separate consideration to agreement with forms of BE, where the standard pattern is considerably more involved than it is with non-BE verbs. Within both types of verbs, we will look at how SJE treats concord for singular and plural subjects. We should note that the terms "singular" and "plural" here refer to grammatical concepts, not necessarily semantic ones; for example, the pronoun you may be semantically singular or plural, but grammatically it follows the pattern for plural. For some varieties, differences from the standard pattern are largely restricted to one type of subject (cf. Wolfram and Christian 1976). Since one of our aims is to consider SJE within the context of other varieties of English this type of sub-classification will provide us with a basis for comparison.

3.2.5.1 Concord with BE

The verb BE in English departs somewhat from the paradigm of standard agreement by maintaining some of the inflectional distinctions made in earlier stages of the language. The first and third person singular present forms (am and is) contrast with the form used for second person singular and all plurals (are). Number agreement also is retained to some degree in the past tense, where first and third singular subjects occur with was and the other subjects take were. BE is the only verb in which distinctions are made for subjects with the past tense. Using pronouns to illustrate, the standard agreement pattern is as follows: I am, it is, we/you/they are; I/it was, we/you/they were.

As we mentioned above, characteristics on both the verb and the subject have been shown to interact with the amount and kind of variation from the standard pattern found in varieties of English. We made the first cut along these lines in considering the data from

SJE by separating the instances of *BE* from other verbs. Since *BE* is the only verb category to allow agreement marking in the past tense as well as in the present, we can consider tense as a likely candidate to influence the agreement pattern. The nature of the subject also needs to be included. An obvious distinction to be made is that between a pronoun such as *he*, *you*, or *they* and other nominals. This turns out to be inoperative in the case of the first person singular (*I*) and second person (*you*), very limited for first person plural (*we*) and most varied for third person subjects. That is, when an utterance with a first or second person subject is used, it is typically in the form of a pronoun. The only exception would be for first or second person plural where a conjoined noun phrase might occur, such as *My family and I*. Finally, the proximity of the subject and verb that enter into the agreement relationship will be considered to determine whether the presence of intervening material affects the way agreement works. Each of these potential influences will be explained more fully as we discuss actual instances of the data from SJE.

In Table 3.9, we present a summary of the concord usage with *BE* observed for 21 SJE speakers.

	Non-separated		Separated	
Subject	Non-past	Past	Non-past	Past
Singular	% (N/T)	% (N/T)	% (N/T)	% (N/T)
Pronoun-3rd	0 (0/400)	N	-	N
Non-pronoun	0 (0/430)	N	0.5 (1/209)	N
Plural				
Pronoun-1st	0 (0/68)	0 (0/160)	0 (0/3)	-
2nd	0 (0/74)	0 (0/58)	0 (0/7)	0 (0/4)
3rd	0 (0/142)	0 (0/153)	0 (0/4)	-
Non-pronoun	1.7(2/115)	1.9(1/52)	48.5(33/68)	46.7(14/30)

Table 3.9. Summary of Concord with *be* in SJE: Percentage of Concord Different From Standard Relations

N = not tabulated (100% standard)

The possible influences represented are type of subject, tense, and whether or not the subject and verb are somehow separated in the surface utterance. These figures show that concord is 100 percent standard for pronouns with BE and almost categorically (i.e. 100 percent) standard for singular subjects with BE in general. The single instance of nonstandard agreement with a singular subject is the following:

(43) The first one gets to the other end are the winner. (106:1)

This case falls into the "separated" category since a clause, (who) gets to the other end intervenes between the concord-governing subject and its verb. With this one exception, concord with BE in SJE varies from the standard pattern only with non-pronominal plural subjects. Within this group, instances are far greater when the subject and verb are separated on the surface than when they are not. Some examples of this alternate pattern with these plural subjects are:

(44) Non-separated:

a. (non-past) Their lives is kinda boring. (80:6)

b. (past) Then I told...who her father and mother was. (106:6)

(45) Separated:

a. (non-past) Some of the shows I believe they show on T.V. is not too good for them. (127:2)

b. (past) There was all these worms. (117:30)

The categories where nonstandard agreement marking for BE occurs in SJE can be further broken down, as shown in Table 3.10. This gives a clearer picture of where an alternate pattern for concord is allowed in SJE. The sole case with a singular subject shows up in the same way as in Table 3.10. The more interesting details emerge with respect to plural subjects. A three-way distinction can be made among these subjects (leaving, for the moment, the categories "there" and "question"). One type is referred to as "collective", a term chosen to indicate a subject which refers to an indeterminate group, which does not have singular and plural forms, but which acts grammatically plural. The prime example is people. Conjoined noun

	Non-separated						Separated					
Subject	Non-Past			Past			Non-Past			Past		
Singular	%	(N/T)		%	(N/T)		%	(N/T)		%	(N/T)	
NP	0	(0/430)		N			2.3	(1/43)		N		
There	X			X			0	(0/60)		N		
Question	X			X			0	(0/106)		N		
Plural												
Collective NP	0	(0/10)	1.7%	0	(0/3)	1.9%	0	(0/7)	4.3%	0	(0/1)	0%
Conjoined NP	0	(0/2)		12.5	(1/8)		-			-		
Other Plural NP	1.9	(2/103)		0	(0/41)		6.3	(1/16)		0	(0/8)	
There	X			X			73.8	(31/42)		66.7	(14/21)	
Question	X			X			33.3	(1/3)		-		

Table 3.10. Concord with Non-Pronominal Subjects with be in SJE: Percentage of Forms Different From Standard Pattern.

N = not tabulated

X = cannot occur

- = did not occur

phrases are those with two or more constituents, each of which may be singular or plural, joined by a conjunction like and or or. These would include subjects like My sister and I, dogs and cats, Max and his children, and so on (cf. (44b) above). The remaining category includes all other subjects (cf. (44a) and (45a) above). While these distinctions were tested because the type of subject has a differential effect on concord in some other varieties (Wolfram and Christian 1975), there is no apparent difference in SJE. Collective subjects show no non-standard concord and the level for the other two categories is quite low.

The final two categories in Table 3.10, "there" and "question", show the highest incidence of an alternate pattern. These are not really types of subjects; rather, they represent processes which rearrange the subjects and verbs of sentences, while the subject-verb agreement relation remains. Hence, under the "plural subject" category, any of the plural subject types, including pronouns, might occur as the subject governing agreement for the standard pattern in these cases.

However, these kinds of rearrangements have proven to influence the marking of agreement in other varieties, and so they were pulled out for examination here as well.

In the case of the "there" category, reference is made to utterances containing expletive there, which fills the surface subject slot but does not determine the agreement relationship in the sentence. Sentences with this use of there are related to other sentences in the following way:

(46) a. Some pencils are on the table.

b. There are some pencils on the table.

The subjects in the sentences like (46a), before the there is inserted, govern agreement. In this way, a sentence with there can have verb concord for either singular or plural, depending on the following noun phrase. Although there can be used in sentences with other verbs, it predominantly occurs with be. Similarly, questions involve the rearrangement of certain parts of a sentence, as in (47):

(47) a. Some pencils are on the table.

b. Are some pencils on the table?

Because of the subject which governs agreement does not precede the verb, we have considered those types of utterances as "separated", although in reality they are simply distinct classes of sentences. This difference in subject-verb arrangement may in part account for the high percentage of nonstandard concord marking observed, at least in the case of expletive there. For questions, there were only three tokens with be and non-pronominal plural subjects, one of which (given in (48) below) had singular concord marking. These instances are too few to draw conclusions from. The category there, on the other hand, had 42 non-past tokens (31 nonstandard) and 21 past (14 nonstandard). The percentages in these cases then more strongly indicate the tendency to use singular agreement with all subjects when there is used. Some instances of these last two categories are:

(48) What is her folks gonna think? (80:9)

(49) a. There's many ideas that aren't any good. (102:2)

b. There's other places that I'd like to live. (114:3)

c. There was all these worms. (117:30)

Concord with BE in SJE appears to follow an overall pattern where, for the most part, agreement is marked in accordance with the standard pattern. The only use of an alternate pattern is observed for non-pronominal plural subjects. Within these, the rate of non-standard concord is still fairly low, with one notable exception, expletive there. This particular structure seems to promote a higher degree of alternate agreement marking with plural subjects for other varieties as well (Wolfram and Christian 1975), a fact which may be explainable by the nature of the structure where the relationship between a verb and its subject is altered.

A final observation can be made about concord with BE in SJE with respect to age groups. As Table 3.11 shows, the two younger age groups seem to restrict their use of alternate concord marking to expletive there; the two older groups use it to a small degree in other situations. The increase in the number of environments where nonstandard concord is allowed may be indicative of a change in progress, in this case an alternate concord pattern that has been in use giving way to the standard English pattern. However, given the extremely low rate in the other environments, and the fact that for many of the older speakers, English is not the native language, this account is unlikely. We will consider other sources for this variation in later sections, after we have described concord in SJE for the non-BE verbs.

Age Group	There		Questions		Other Plural Subjects	
	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)
10-19	92.3	(12/13)	-		0	(0/49)
20-39	63.6	(14/22)	0	(0/1)	0	(0/69)
40-59	61.5	(8/13)	50	(1/2)	4.4	(3/68)
60+	73.3	(11/15)	-		4.4	(1/23)

Table 3.11. Percentage of Nonstandard Concord Marking by Age Group.

3.2.5.2 Concord with Non-BE Verbs

With verbs other than be in English, the extent of agreement with subjects according to the standard pattern is somewhat more limited. Concord marking is found only with non-past tenses. Among these, the forms of the verbs are identical for all subjects other than third person singular, giving contrasts like I, you, they think/he thinks. In the case of modals, such as can, will, and so on, the forms remain the same for all subjects regardless of person and number. These modal forms will not be included in the discussion below because of their lack of agreement potential. It is, of course, conceivable that in an alternate pattern, modals could be marked for agreement, as in the use of he wills go or some similar structure. No variation in modal forms in terms of agreement was observed in SJE, however.

The standard pattern, then, basically involves the addition of a suffix on verbs with third person singular subjects and no change for verbs with any kind of subject. This suffix, which can be represented as -Z, has several grammatical functions in English, including third person singular agreement (he walks), plural indicator (two pens) and possessive marker (the dog's bone). The form of the suffix is phonologically conditioned by what precedes it, so that /-Iz/ follows sibilant sounds (-s, -z, -sh, -ch) as in forces (/forsIz), /-z/ follows voiced non-sibilants as in seems (/simz/) or goes (/goz/), and /-s/ follows voiceless non-sibilants, as in hits (/hIts/) or laughs (/læfs/). The third singular suffix, -Z, then, can have one of several forms that it shares with two other grammatical functions. There are a few somewhat "irregular" forms as well in this pattern where marking third singular agreement involves more than the simple suffix additions -- the alternation of have and has, for example, and the vowel change in do/does. This standard pattern of concord will be used as the basis for describing this area of usage in SJE.

In order to examine the agreement patterns of SJE for non-BE verbs, we will again investigate characteristics of the subjects and verbs as possible influences on variation that might occur. For subjects, we separate pronouns from non-pronominal plural subjects. As for the BE verbs, whether or not the subjects and verb are somehow "separated" will also be considered. Finally, among the verb types, we will identify five classes. Because the forms for third person singular subjects are altered more than the simple addition of the -*Z* suffix, have (*has*), do (/*does*) and say (/*says*) are considered separately from all "other verbs" where the simple addition of the suffix satisfies the standard pattern. Finally, a special case, that of *don't* is examined as well. This form is separated out because there is evidence from some varieties (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974) that it is treated differently in the agreement pattern; that is, although a variety may allow little or no third person singular -*s* absence, there may still be extensive use of *don't* with third singular subjects. Some varieties allow the use of the 3rd person singular agreement marker on plural subjects, so these subjects are tabulated as well.

Table 3.12 presents the overall picture of agreement usage for non-*BE* verbs in SJE. Since no alternations from the standard pattern were observed for 1st or 2nd person subjects, these are not mentioned.

Type of Verb

Third Person Subject	Have		Do		Say		Other Verb		Don't	
A. Non-Separated	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T
Singular										
pronoun	17	(9/52)	20	(2/10)	3	(1/36)	9	(21/244)	62	(18/
non-pronoun	18	(5/28)	17	(1/6)	0	(0/24)	9	(11/121)	50	(4/8
Plural										
pronoun	0	(0/212)	N		N		0	(0/480)	N	
non-pronoun	0	(0/19)	N		N		9	(6/66)	N	
B. Separated										
Singular										
pronoun	-		0	(0/15)	-		-		0	(0/1
non-pronoun	23	(3/13)	0	(0/16)	0	(0/1)	25	(6/24)	0	(0/1
Plural										
pronoun	-		N		N		-		N	
non-pronoun	29	(2/7)	N		N		17	(3/18)	N	

Table 3.12. Summary of Concord with Non-BE Verbs in SJE: Percentage of Nonstandard Forms.

- = did not occur

N = not tabulated (100% standard)

In addition, the occurrences of do, say and don't were not tabulated for plural subjects since no instances of nonstandard agreement were observed for these verbs. Some instances of the categories listed in Table 3.12 are given in (50) - (53):

(50) Non-Separated/Singular
She make up her own design. (106:6)
My wife also do that. (127:2)
Her mother don't believe too much in Indian. (104:16)

(51) *Non-Separated/Plural*
The children *learns* how to dance. (129:4)
Five *stands* on the other side. (106:1)

(52) *Separated/Singular*
I have a little grandson that *live* in Albuquerque.
Each one of the villages *have* a team. (114:2)

(53) *Separated/Plural*
They're people who *thinks* they got more money. (94:6)
It's those ones that *has* blanks. (120:22)

The figures in Table 3.12 indicate certain characteristics of concord with non-*BE* verbs in SJE. There appears to be little difference between pronouns and non-pronouns as singular subjects, while the evidence is not conclusive for plural subjects because of the unfilled cells. Another tendency that can be noted is that the "separated" feature has more influence on agreement with plural subjects than with singular subjects. The type of verb also shows some degree of influence. For example, *say*, with singular subjects, has a very low incidence of nonstandard concord marking; *have*, *do* and other verbs are somewhat mixed. The type of subject and the feature of separation seem to interact differently with the different verb classes. *Do*, for instance, has a relatively high rate of nonstandard concord for singular subjects non-separated (e.g. *Her mother don't believe*...(104:16)) but none when the subject and verb are separated. The other verbs, on the other hand, show just the opposite effect, a much higher level in the separated category (e.g. *my daughter that live in Santa Clara* (79:7)) than in the non-separated category for singular subjects. The special case of *don't* behaves similarly in SJE as in other varieties of English. The levels of use of the form *don't* with third person singular subjects are considerably higher than the degree of nonstandard concord for other verb types.

For plural subjects, where the nonstandard agreement marking involves the addition of the -*Z* suffix, the incidence of such marking is relatively low, with the exception of non-pronominal subjects separated in some way from the verb. An examination of the types of plural subjects (collective, conjoined and other noun phrases) identified in the previous section did not reveal any notable effects on concord. The major influence on agreement in SJE for plural subjects, then, is the factor that has been called 'separated'.

The situation with singular subjects, the omission of the third person singular -*Z* suffix, requires some further comment. This omission may be the result of a grammatical process or a phonological process, with the two having quite different implications for SJE as a variety of English. As a grammatical process, the omission of the suffix would point to the variable nature of agreement marking, in that the third person singular suffix on verbs need not always be used by speakers of SJE. If, on the other hand, it is a phonological process, the omission would not relate to the agreement system other than in terms of how it affects the surface realization of agreement marking. Fasold (1971) has examined in detail the evidence concerning absence of the *Z* suffix in one variety of English, concluding that the process is grammatical. While we will not pursue as extensive an investigation here, we can make certain observations that bear on the issue for SJE to determine if, like other varieties, third person singular agreement absence is grammatical, or if SJE treats the feature differently.

There are two basic types of evidence we look for in identifying the level of grammar responsible for -*Z* absence. If the process is phonological, then phonological factors in the context of the suffix would affect the likelihood of absence; if it is grammatical, they would not. Likewise, if the process is grammatical, syntactic factors would be expected to influence deletion; for phonological processes, those factors are typically less important.

We approach this problem by taking a closer look at three SJE speakers, two of whom had relative high levels of third person -*Z* absence (No. 106, No. 129) and one with almost none (No. 80). Two of the speakers are approximately the same age (No. 80 and No. 106); one is slightly older (No. 129). We saw above that the -*Z* suffix has several grammatical functions; in addition to third person singular agreement marking (e.g. *he walks*), it also serves as the plural (e.g. *books*) and the possessive (e.g. *Jack's*) marker. It also has three alternate forms whose use is conditioned by the final sound of the word to which the suffix is added. If we tabulate the degree of -Z absence for the three different functions, we can determine if the grammatical factors have an effect on the frequency. Lexical items ending in /s/ and /z/, such as dance or turquoise need to be checked. If the process is phonological, we would expect speakers with relatively high third person singular -Z absence to omit the final /s/ or /z/ for the other functions and on lexical items to a similar (relative) degree. Table 3.13 presents the results of this investigation. In order that the lexical item category be compared, only the /s/ and /z/ suffixes are included in this tabulation.

Speaker No.	3rd Person Sg. (he walks) N/T	%	Plural (books) N/T	%	Possessive (Jack's) N/T	%	Lexical (dance) N/T	%
80	1/24	4	1/46	1	0/20	0	2/254	1
106	10/25	40	12/109	11	0/3	0	1/146	1
129	3/5	60	4/26	15	0/1	0	3/21	14

Table 3.13. Incidence of /s/ and /z/ Absence for 3 SJE Speakers.

The figures in Table 3.13 support the conclusion that third person -Z absence is primarily a grammatical process. They clearly show that grammatical function influences the level of absence, with third person -Z indicating the highest level of absence. If the process were primarily phonological, we would expect at least some instances of omission of the possessive suffix, but none occur. The relatively low levels of /s/ and /z/ deletion on lexical items also supports a non-phonological explanation. If the process were phonological, we would in fact expect higher levels of deletion where the segment omitted did not represent a grammatical morpheme since grammatical marking tends to inhibit an absence. The variable of consonant cluster reduction, discussed in Section 3.3.1, is basically phonological in nature and shows this type of effect. Instead, in the case of /s/ and /z/, we find a much lower level of omission of the segment in words where it is an inherent part of the base form ("lexical") than in words where it represents a suffix (3rd person singular and plural). In fact, the seemingly higher rate for

Speaker 129 becomes less noteworthy when we observe that all three instances of deletion for this speaker occurred with the single lexical item dance. (Wolfram (1969) notes that word-final /s/ absence on lexical items in another variety of English is rare, but can occur in two contexts, one of which is following an /n/.) Second, if the absence of the segment were phonological, we would expect the surrounding phonological environment, such as vowel and consonant patterns, to have a good deal of influence on whether or not the suffix was present. In Table 3.14 we summarize the tabulation of -Z absence according to the preceding and following environment for the two speakers (106, 129) with greater levels of absence.

			C___						V___			
	___C		___V		___##		___C		___V		___##	
Speaker 106	N/T	%	N/T	%	N/T	%	N/T	%	N/T	%	N/T	%
/s/	2/6	33	2/2	100	-		X		X		X	
/z/	2/5	40	2/7	29	1/1	100	1/4	25	-		-	
Speaker 129												
/s/	2/3	67	1/1	100	-		X		X		X	
/z/	-		0/1	0	-		-		-		-	

Table 3.14. Frequency of Third Person -Z Absence for Two SJE Speakers.

- = did not occur
X = cannot occur

The figures in Table 3.14 show no clear patterns of influence within either preceding or following environments although the total number of instances is very low.

Finally, we can note the levels of nonstandard concord with have and do (Table 3.12). These verbs were separated out for tabulation because their third person agreement marking does not involve the simple addition of a suffix. If the absence of the suffix were phonological, we might expect the nonstandard concord forms to be ha' (/hæ/) and doe' (/də/) through deletion of the final segment.

Instead, we observe that the forms used are have and do, showing no changes resulting from suffix addition. This indicated that the suffix is absent because it has not been added, rather than the phonological account that it has been added and then the final segment phonologically deleted. Given all of the above considerations, it would appear that third person singular -Z absence in SJE, as in other varieties that have been described, is primarily a grammatical process. There may be some phonological influence, converging with the grammatical factors, but it is relatively minor.

Finally, we look again at age groups as we did for BE. We separate the singular and plural subjects (Table 3.15 and Table 3.16 respectively) and collapse the categories of pronoun vs. non-pronominal subject since the distinction appears to have little effect.

	Non-Separated										Separated			
Age Group	Have		Do		Say		Verb		Don't		Have		Other Verb	
	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)
10-19	0	(0/22)	0	(0/2)	0	(0/16)	0.5	(1/188)	75	(12/16)	0	(0/2)	0	(0/1)
20-39	0	(0/9)	0	(0/7)	-		0	(0/50)	0	(0/3)	33	(2/6)	0	(0/4)
40-59	27	(10/37)	40	(2/5)	5	(1/22)	23	(19/81)	57	(8/14)	25	(1/4)	32	(6/19)
60+	33	(4/12)	50	(1/2)	0	(0/4)	26	(12/46)	50	(2/4)	0	(0/1)	0	(0/3)

Table 3.15. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord with Singular Subjects (-Z absence) in SJE by Age Group.

- = did not occur

	Non-Separated				Separated			
Age Group	Have		Other Verb		Have		Other Verb	
	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)	%	(N/T)
10-19	0	(0/3)	0	(0/9)	50	(1/2)	33	(1/3)
20-39	0	(0/7)	0	(0/10)	-		0	(0/4)
40-59	0	(0/7)	11	(4/38)	20	(1/5)	16	(1/6)
60+	0	(0/2)	22	(2/9)	-		20	(1/5)

Table 3.16. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord with Plural Subjects (non-pronouns) in SJE by Age Group

- = did not occur

From Table 3.15, we can see that the majority of nonstandard agreement marking with singular subjects and non-*Be* verbs is found in the speech of the two older groups. For the younger groups, nonstandard concord is found with *don't* and when the subject and verb are separated. With plural subjects (Table 3.16), a similar pattern occurs, with the two older groups having instances of nonstandard concord in more environments than the other, younger groups, who use it only in "separated" contexts. In both cases, the oldest group (60+) has a generally slightly higher level of this usage, but the two older groups are basically fairly even.

3.2.5.3 The Source of Concord in SJE

We can summarize the overall picture of variation in subject-verb agreement marking in SJE as follows. With forms of *BE* non-standard usage is found almost exclusively with non-pronominal plural subjects and most frequently when these subjects are not contiguous with the verb. The most favorable environment by far for this alternate usage is with expletive *there*, as in *There's so many things* (106:7).

With non-*BE* verbs, agreement marking may differ from the standard form for both singular and plural subjects. With the plural subjects again, as with *BE*, pronouns are not included, and nonstandard concord is more frequent when subjects are separated from the verbs. For singular subjects, on the other hand, pronouns and other noun phrases are about equally likely to occur with nonstandard agreement marking on the verb. In comparison with the other verb forms, a considerably higher degree of nonstandard marking is associated with the single form, *don't*.

There is a basic question that has as yet not been dealt with in this discussion. Agreement marking in this context refers to the way the form of the verb reflects certain characteristics of its subjects. As we have seen, the characteristic that appears to be central is that of number -- for third person subjects, what in standard English would be a singular subject may have a verb marked for plural agreement and a plural subject may have a singular verb. We have been assuming that the process which accounts for this is a grammatical one, affecting the way the verb can be marked for subject number. We have shown that it is not primarily phonological, but there is a further alternative that has not as yet been explored. Given that agreement marking on verbs reflects the way nouns are categorized, nonstandard concord could as well result from an alternate pattern of classifying the nouns/subjects. That is, what in standard English would be a singular subject may be nonstandardly classified as plural, so that concord marking on the verb for a plural subject would actually conform to the standard agreement pattern. This alternative explanation is not to be discarded lightly since the possibility of influence from another language exists, another language which, as it turns out, does classify nouns differently. Moreover, the speakers with the greatest incidence of the nonstandard pattern are those over the age of 40, the group who are also more likely to have Tewa, rather than English, as their native language.

According to the information available on the Tewa language, there are three classes of nouns -- one for animate referents, and two for inanimate referents (aggregate or distributive) -- and three number distinctions (singular, dual and plural) (Speirs 1974). An interesting feature of these classes has been called "inverse number", described by A. Speirs as "...what marks dual remains the same for all noun classes, while that which marks singular for one class marks plural for other classes and vice versa." (1974:46) Such a characteristic could affect concord if it were transferred to a speaker's English. However, it appears that signalling number for nouns is even more complex than this, depending, according to R. Speirs, on "interrelationships between morphemic, syntactic and semological categories" (1966:156). Because of this complexity, we cannot here investigate thoroughly the possible influence of Tewa noun classification on SJE concord.

However, it would seem unlikely that the influence of Tewa noun classes on agreement in the English system would be very strong. The most significant factor is the variable nature of concord marking. That is, even though we notice nonstandard marking some of the time, there is also standard marking much of the time. Moreover, the same noun may have both standard and nonstandard modes of agreement with the verb. Thus, any direct parallels with noun classification systems in Tewa are not likely explanations for nonstandard concord. Also, the patterns of nonstandard usage counter the possibility of strong influence. For instance, the fact that concord with *BE* for singular subjects is virtually 100 percent standard, while with non-*BE* verbs, it is not, would argue against the noun class playing an important role. Or, further, the much higher level of nonstandard agreement with *don't* than with other verbs makes the type of noun (within third person singular in this case) seem less important. That is, it is unlikely that, for example, a higher number of certain animate nouns (if this were the crucial feature) would account for the higher level of alternate agreement marking with *don't* than with other verbs.

The following segment of speech illustrates this point. If we consider the various verb forms that co-occur with the pronoun *he* (which in each case here refers to the speaker's son), the variable nature of agreement marking, even with a constant subject, becomes clear.

> (54) ...Cause I don't want him just going all over doing what he *wants* to. Because that's not the way it goes with me. As long as he*'s* living with me here, I'm the boss. I tell him what to do. And if he *do* wrong, I need to correct him, I'm gonna do it. One way or another, *he's* gonna get corrected. Whether he *like* it or not. (130:6)

It is of course still possible that the Tewa marking system for nouns has some influence on the agreement marking in SJE, especially for the older speakers. This factor might well converge with those discussed here, producing higher levels of nonstandard concord for English in certain cases. A thorough investigation of the noun classes in Tewa and their possible reflection in the agreement marking usage of individual SJE speakers is beyond the scope of this discussion, but, as we have seen, this factor is at most a contributing one, not a primary influence.

An interesting feature of subject-verb concord in SJE is the way it patterns with respect to age. The same characteristic emerges for both *BE* and non-*BE* verbs: while those nonstandard uses which are widely shared by varieties of English may be found in all age groups, those that are typically more restricted in their occurrence are almost entirely limited to the two older groups, speakers over 40 years of age. For instance, with the non-*be* verbs and singular subjects, speakers in the groups under age 40 had very little nonstandard usage except with *don't* (and two of six instances of *have* when separated from the subject). The SJE speakers over 40 had a wide range of nonstandard usage, varying levels of incidence in a number of different categories. In looking at other varieties of English, we find that *don't* is the most common form of nonstandard agreement with third person singular subjects. In some cases, it is the only context which allows third person -*Z* absence. (Wolfram and Christian 1975), while in others, *don't* simply has a higher frequency of -*Z* absence than other verbs (Fasold 1972). In fact, in SJE we have a situation where the younger speakers have a *higher* incidence of nonstandardness with *don't* than the older speakers. This would indicate that the younger speakers are more influenced by diffusion from other varieties in adopting this feature. Quite clearly, there is a developing convergence of younger SJE speakers with surrounding non-mainstream varieties. We find this pattern of division of speakers by age repeated in the other concord situations as well. With *BE*, nonstandard concord with *there* was common to all age groups, but other types were found only with speakers over 40.

We can at this point only speculate on the basis for this particular division of usage by age. One possible factor within this community is whether or not English was the native language of the speaker. Among the group for whom concord was tabulated (21 speakers), 9 of the 10 speakers over 40 years of age speak English as a second or third language. For the 10-19 year old group, all 7 are native English speakers, but in the 20-39 year old group, only one of the four learned English natively. Therefore, while there appears to be some influence from this factor (only one out of ten speaks English natively in the over 40 group; eight of eleven of those under 40 do), the facts about the 20-39 year old group show this account to be incomplete. For some reason, this group, which we can think of as transitional (between those under 20 who speak English natively and those over 40 who for the most part speak Tewa natively), exhibits concord usage like the younger group.

A further point to be made concerning the age groupings being discussed is that the group figures as tabulated reflect the individual speakers within the group. That is, the variable usage of agreement marking noted for the groups over forty years of age is not the result of one or two speakers with high levels of nonstandard marking being grouped with others with little or no such usage. Table 3.17 displays the distribution by age group of the speakers. The categories of usage represent the apparent major distinction in agreement -- nonstandard usage limited to expletive *there* with plural subject or *don't* with singular subject or nonstandard usage not limited to those cases.

	100% Standard	Some Non-Standard Usage	
Age Group		there/don't only	Other
10-19	1	3	3
20-39		3	1
40-59			5
60+			5

Table 3.17. Number of Speakers Exhibiting Type of Agreement Usage by Age Group

Table 3.17 indicates that all 10 speakers in the age groups over 40 showed some degree of nonstandard usage beyond that with *there* or *don't*; only 4 of 11 speakers under 40 did. Thus, it seems safe to conclude that the group figures are representative of the behavior of the individual speakers in our sample.

Overall then, what appears to be happening in SJE with respect to concord is that the younger speakers (under 40) are following patterns more widely used in varieties of English, while the older speakers (over 40) have variability in their agreement marking which is less commonly found in varieties of English. The processes leading up to these two patterns may be quite different. The younger group may be showing the influences of a number of varieties of English in their environment and nonmainstream varieties in general, and English is their predominant, and in some cases, only language. The older group, on the other hand, may be demonstrating the effects of a second language acquisition process or some first language interaction, or both, as well as less widespread contact with other varieties of English. A definitive account of the source of the variation as observed earlier, is elusive at this point. However, the nature of the variation in agreement marking in SJE raises some very interesting questions.

3.2.6 Negation

Several of the most widely recognized differences between mainstream and non-mainstream varieties of English involve aspects of negation. Although the linguistic import of these differences does not appear to be especially significant, they have taken on considerable social prominence in designating varieties of English. In some respects, they function as shibboleths in the popular view of standard and nonstandard speech. Given their social import, it is therefore instructive to look at these aspects of negation as used in the SJE system, particularly as they may compare with the usage of these structures in other social and ethnic varieties of English.

3.2.6.1 Negative Concord

Negative concord, or, more popularly, "double" or "multiple negation", is among the most stereotyped features of non-standard speech found in the varieties of American English. Few students within our educational system have escaped some comment on the virtues of using forms such as *He didn't do anything because he was lazy* rather than its multiple negative counterpart *He didn't do nothing because he was lazy*. Despite the fact that multiple negatives have solid historical roots within the English language as the standard formation of a negative with an indefinite, the traditional prescriptive norm stigmatizing such constructions has resulted in the near elimination of these constructions in the formal speech of most standard English speakers. Support for this prescriptive stance has

has even been aided by a touch of misguided logic, which suggests that negative forms appearing in the surface structure of a sentence are to be factored out like an algebraic equation.[11]

In reality, the realization of a logical negative at more than one point in the surface form of a sentence is a very common phenomenon exemplifying a type of "agreement" or "concord" pattern found in natural languages. There are many languages in which the only way certain types of negative constructions (with one logical negative) can be formed is through the occurrence of a negative at more than one point in the sentence, or through "negative concord". Both San Juan Tewa and Spanish, in fact, employ a type of negative concord, although they realize it in somewhat different ways. As described by Speirs (1966:127), Tewa marks a single logical negative with a preverbal prefix (*wi-*) and suffix (*-pi*) at the same time (e.g. winamae:pi 'he didn't go'). In Spanish, negative constructions with indefinites can only be realized by a type of negative concord which employs the negative particle (*no*) and a negative indefinite (e.g. *no hizo nada* 'he didn't do anything'). With the widespread distribution of negative concord in the potential source languages of the immediate community, and the apparent naturalness of the language change that results in this construction, it is not surprising that we would find some incidence in SJE.

There are, of course, negative concord patterns which affect different kinds of grammatical relationships, but the one most frequently cited as a characteristic of non-mainstream English varieties is the one in which a negative is marked within the verb phrase and also on indefinites following the verb phrase. This rule essentially copies the negative (realized as some form of NOT) placed within the verb phrase on the indefinites which follow it within the sentence. This results in SJE sentences such as (55):

(55) a. I *didn't* take *no* jacket. 46:68
b. I really *don't* like *none* of those things. 76:80
c. I *didn't* bother her *no* more. 80:107

Examples such as these are, of course, well represented in descriptions of the social varieties of American English and not unique to SJE.

SJE is simply among those varieties of English where we find negative concord or multiple negation.

Although negative concord is certainly prominent in many non-mainstream varieties of English, studies in other contexts have indicated that it is often a variable rather than categorical phenomenon. That is, all constructions where negative concord might potentially occur are not necessarily realized as multiple negatives. A sentence such as They don't do nothing may fluctuate with its counterpart They don't do anything within the speech of a single speaker. Accordingly, the examination of negative concord must consider the extent of its usage by various speakers along with the simple attestation of its occurrence in SJE.

In Table 3.18, we have tabulated the incidence of negative concord for 14 different speakers in our corpus, chosen because each speaker has at least five examples which potentially might be realized as multiple negatives. This cut-off point is set up since it appears to be the minimum number of potential cases for establishing regular patterns of frequency distribution among fluctuating members of a set. Within Table 3.18, a distinction is also made between post-verbal indefinites within and outside the main clause. The examples cited above would qualify as existing within the main clause, whereas cases such as They didn't buy the new car or anything or He wasn't listening either involve a potential negative copying which extends beyond the main clause of the sentence (e.g. or anything, either). This distinction is made on the basis of previous investigations of multiple negation in non-mainstream English, which have indicated a quantitative or qualitative distinction in the operation of negative concord on such clause-modifying indefinites. Individual percentages are not given for such constructions since their incidence is generally too limited to provide meaningful frequency figures for individuals. In order to look at the variable of multiple negation with respect to the possible social variable of age, the sample here is separated into those above and below the age of 40. In actuality, all of the subjects in the age category below 40 are less than 30 years of age, so that the age break is somewhat sharper than that indicated in Table 3.18.

Several observations can be made on the basis of Table 3.18. Quite clearly, post-verbal negative concord is established here as an integral part of the SJE system. For the most part, however, it does not appear to be a categorical phenomenon and most speakers fluctuate between negative concord and its non-concordial counterpart. Also, the difference between clause-internal and -external concord relations appears to be found in SJE, even with the limited potential examples of clause-external indefinities.

Subject Number	Within Clause Actual/Potential	% Neg. Concord	Outside Clause Actual/Potential	% Neg. Concord
		Under 40		
85	7/7	100	2/3	
94	7/7	100	0/3	
117	5/6	83.3	1/1	
116	7/9	77.8	---	
120	5/7	71.4	0/1	
188	5/12	41.7	0/2	
150	1/7	14.2	---	
		Over 40		
80	16/20	80.0	0/3	
87	6/9	66.7	3/4	
103	13/20	65.0	---	
102	5/11	45.5	0/2	
130	3/13	23.1	---	
106	5/24	20.8	0/6	
104	0/10	0.0	0/1	
Total	85/162	52.5	6/26	23.1

Table 3.18. Extent of Post-Verbal Negative Concord in SJE

Multiple negation is a pattern which is distributed throughout the SJE population, although its relative incidence seems greater for the younger generation as compared with the older one. (The mean percentage of usage is 69.8 for the younger generation and 43 percent for the older; the median is 77.8 and 45.5 respectively.) Both groups, however, show a wide range of variation within the categorical termini. While we might speculate the relative incidence of negative concord is related to socio-economic differences in the community itself, we should point out that this does not appear to be as clear-cut as has been found in other contexts. We have, for example, observed negative concord used by teachers within the context of a school situation. Its status as a shibboleth of social diagnosticity may not be as prominent among SJE speakers as in some other contexts where it has been studied.

In Table 3.19, the incidence of negative concord in SJE is compared with its usage in other non-mainstream varieties of English. Included in this comparison are Puerto Rican English, Vernacular Black English in several different locations, several White northern non-mainstream varieties, and Appalachian English. Although the studies are not comparable in all respects, it does give a realistic picture of some of the similarities and differences among the varieties.

Varieties of English	% Multiple Negation	Number of Categorical Multiple Negation Users Out of Total Number of Subjects
Puerto Rican English		
East Harlem (NYC)	87.4	12/27
Vernacular Black English		
Jets (NYC)	97.9	11/13
Detroit	77.8	4/12
East Harlem (NYC)	97.8	7/10
White Northern Nonstandard English		
Inwood (NYC)	81.0	2/8
Detroit	56.3	No Data
Appalachian English		
Below Age 40	66.3	1/20
Above Age 40	53.1	0/5
San Juan English		
Below Age 40	69.8	2/7
Above Age 40	43.0	0/7

Table 3.19. Comparison of Multiple Negation as Indicated in Various Social and Ethnic Dialects of American English.

We see that the incidence of multiple negation in SJE most like that found in varieties such as Northern White nonstandard or Appalachian English. In these varieties, it is a well-represented but non-categorical phenomenon. For varieties where comparisons across age levels are available, it also shows a similar distribution in that the older groups tend to show less incidence of multiple negation than the younger generation.

In the preceding description, we have simply established the existence of post-verbal negative concord and set forth the extent of its usage in SJE. Implicit in our description is an assumption that negative concord and its non-concord counterpart are semantically equivalent. That is, other than the social connotations of using negative concord, the variable use of concord does not signify any formal meaning differences within the system. As Lavendera (1977) points out, however, the assumptions of semantic equivalence for alternating units in the grammatical system has sometimes been maintained erroneously. We therefore must examine if, indeed, our assumption appears to be justified.

The existence of potential meaning differences in variable negative placement is sometimes alluded to in descriptions, but typically has not been subjected to close scrutiny. Wolfram and Fasold, for example (1974:163), refer to the somewhat vague notion of "emphasis" in their discussion of alternate post-verbal negative placement on indefinites, but do not specify exactly what the formal basis for this distinction is. They describe the negative movement which surfaces as a difference between sentences such as *He likes nothing* and *He doesn't like anything* in terms of the notion of "elegant emphasis":

> For elegant emphasis, remove NOT from the main verb phrase and incorporate it in the first indefinite *after* the main verb phrase.
>
> Wolfram and Fasold 1964:163

Bolinger (1977) has demonstrated that there are fundamental formal differences distinct from the vague notion of "emphasis" which can be maintained by this negative movement. A negative plus post-verbal *any* defines an affirmation and an affirmative verb phrase and post-verbal *no* affirms a negation. In a sentence such as *I will sit down and say nothing*, knowledge of the action is presupposed and the sentence functions more like a positive than a negative. On the other hand, a sentence such as *I will sit down and not say anything* does not presuppose such knowledge and the sentence functions like a regular negative sentence (cf. Bolinger 1977 for a more detailed justification). Wolfram and Fasold also suggest an emphatic interpretation for post-verbal negative concord when they state:

> For emphasis incorporate a *copy* of NOT which is in the main verb phrase in *all* indefinites after the main verb phrase, but leave the original NOT intact.
>
> Wolfram and Fasold 1974:164

While such a distinction holds a certain amount of popular appeal, again it is questionable whether such a distinction can be maintained on any formal basis. For the categorical user of negative concord, it could hardly have such a distinctive function, since it would have no contrasting non-emphatic to use for non-emphasis. Furthermore, it is quite possible for a variable user of post-verbal negative concord to place emphatic stress on the non-concordial parallel, as in *She didn't say ánything*. In fact, there are some cases which suggest that emphasis is most likely to be carried by the construction least predictable in the system of the speaker. Thus, the predominant user of negative concord who used the sentence I don't want to buy nothing, not anything would seem to be using the less expected construction to set it apart in this manner. Quite clearly, then, the unique correlation of negative concord with a distinction related to emphasis seems difficult to justify on any formal basis.

There are also cases in our SJE corpus which would refute the simplistic interpretation of negative concord as a unique marker of emphasis. The following citation, for example, occurs in a very forceful context by a speaker who has 80 percent (16 of 20 cases) of her potential post-verbal negative indefinites realized as negative concord.

(56) Man, she didn't say anything. She just sat there...for a little while there. Finally, she said, "Well, I guess I better go".

Examples such as this argue against the emphasis distinction in SJE, just as there are counterexamples which argue against this vague interpretation for other varieties of English.

To conclude that there appears to be no basis for maintaining any unique correlation of negative concord with emphasis, of course, does not mean that other formal distinctions necessarily would be ruled out. Leap (1977:75), in fact, has suggested that in Isletan English, the scope of the negative is formally distinguished on the basis of negative concord and its non-concordial counterpart. With a single verb phrase-realization of the negative, the scope is restricted to the agent, whereas negative concord with a post-verbal indefinite denies the action performed, rather than the agent's involvement. This is analogous to different stress placement in standard English which distinguishes We didn't do anything to We didn't do anything. In the former case, the role of the subject-agent is denied, with the implication that someone else was involved in the activity while in the latter case, the negation is restricted to the activity without any implication concerning the involvement of other parties. Leap concludes that this type of distinction correlates with the difference between sentences such as We didn't do anything and We didn't do nothing without any contrast in the

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placement of stress (the only condition for which it might hold in standard English). According to Leap, this distinction is the result of language transfer from Isletan Tiwa, where the placement of a moveable negative prefix on verbs correlates with this scope difference (i.e. if the negative marker is placed before the subject prefix, it denies the involvement of the agent, whereas its placement following the agent denies the activity).

In SJE, there is no comparable distinction which would parallel the one Leap maintains for Isletan English. The example cited previously, without negative concord, clearly focuses on a negation of the activity, without any implication concerning parties other than the agent. There are also other examples of variation which would not appear to fit such an interpretation, such as the following:

(57) I remember the old village, they didn't had hardly no doors just enough for a kid--a person to go in; that what you mean? And they didn't used to have no stoves; they used to have fireplaces, and people didn't had no furniture inside, not even a bed. They used to just have some goatskins, which we called, it was the rugs for us on the floor, and we didn't used to hardly wear any shoes, even if it was cold.

The serial negation of various activities in this discourse is clearly centered on the absence of these objects. The final negative, which represents the non-concordial alternate, does not appear to carry a scope restriction which is formally different from the other negatives with concord. Examples such as these would thus suggest that any formal scope differentiation on this basis is not justified for SJE.

It should be noted here that the source language for SJE, Tiwa, does not have a scope restriction which parallels the one posited for Isletan Tiwa by Leap. As reported by Speirs (1966:127), the verbal prefix which, along with a suffix, marks negation cannot be moved with respect to the agent prefix in a way that parallels the scope restrictions Leap maintains for Tiwa. Without such source language transfer potential, we would expect the likelihood of a distinction maintained on this basis to be reduced accordingly.

While no scope distinction related to negative concord can apparently be atrributed to the overlay of source language transfer, there are several aspects of negation in Tewa which may be cited as potential reinforcement for the English negative patterns we have found in our corpus. As mentioned earlier (cf. Speirs 1966:127,141) negation in San Juan Tewa is typically signified by a verbal prefix and suffix. The suffix may occur without the prefix in subordinate clauses, but the prefix always occurs with the negative suffix. The co-occurrence of the prefix and suffix are a type of negative concord, which may be supportive of the negative concord patterns found in our corpus. However, we should note here that the older speakers, who would be expected to exhibit more language transfer from Tewa than the younger generation, actually have less incidence of negative concord than the younger generation. We can only speculate as to the reason for this distribution pattern, other than noting that this general pattern of age grading is also found in other non-mainstream varieties (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:91). In other varieties, this pattern is attributed to reduction of socially stigmatized features as speakers pass from adolescence into adulthood. While this may be true to some extent in SJE, we may simply have a stabilization of the negative concord pattern within the variety, in which case, it may become more prominent than it was at a more intermediary stage in the development of the variety.

One other pattern in SJE may be noted with respect to some possible influence from Tewa. This is the indigenous language pattern in which the post-verbal negative can occur (at least in subordination) without the occurrence of the pre-verbal negative. It is noted that we have more cases of post-verbal negation of the type covered by Wolfram and Fasold's elegant emphasis rule (but cf. our earlier discussion) than we might expect for a variety with a prominence of post-verbal concord. That is, we have cases such as:

(58) a. No, we had no running water. (102a:4)

b. I have nothing to do with that. (94c:4)

Wolfram (1974) has suggested that there are some non-mainstream varieties of English where the rule resulting in such structures may not operate, and if it does, it is quite uncommon. Yet, we find a more than adequate representation of such examples in our corpus. The possibility that this pattern may be reinforced by native language transfer co-occurrence restriction which allows post-verbal negative marking without pre-verbal marking, but not the converse, cannot be excluded in this respect. This possible explanation must, however, be considered along with alternative explanations, such as the absence of verb phrase auxiliaries in Tewa. Since English requires an auxiliary for pre-verbal negatives to attach themselves (e.g. He not did it versus He did not do it), the post-verbal negative, which requires no auxiliary, might be a preferred alternate (e.g. He has no car).

3.2.6.2 Negative Indefinite + Negativized Verb Phrase

In addition to post-verbal negative concord discussed above, SJE exhibits a negative concord pattern in which a negative indefinite preceding the verb phrase co-occurs with a negative within the verb phrase. This results in the type of negative concord illustrated in the following sentences:

(59) a. First Speaker: I don't want nobody to see it.
Second Speaker: I'll check it and nobody doesn't have to see it. (183:391)
b. It's true, we raised all the money and then nobody -- no other place won't raise nothing, no. (183:651)
c. Nobody isn't gonna find out. (105:104)
d. ...they smoke somewhere else where nobody won't see them. (94:294)
e. And nobody else isn't making me unhappy and I'm just enjoying myself without nobody making me unhappy. (133:232)

These constructions correspond to standard English structures which mark the negative only on the pre-verbal indefinite. Thus, constructions such as nobody isn't or nobody won't correspond to standard English nobody is and nobody will respectively. Although standard English does allow structures such as *Nobody doesn't like Sara Lee,* these carry a quite different meaning. In the standard English case, the presence of these two negatives results in an affirmative rather than a negative sentence (cf. Baker 1970). The standard English example is not a case of negative concord, but an instance of a proposition which contains two logical or underlying negatives. On the other hand, the context of the SJE examples clearly indicates that the sentences are negative rather than affirmative. In these cases, the proposition contains one logical negative which is simply copied at more than one place in the construction of the sentence. The result is simply another type of negative concord.

In standard English negative sentences, the negative must be moved from the verb phrase to the indefinite when an indefinite precedes the verb phrase in a sentence. This accounts for the negative placement in sentences such as *Nobody was here* in contrast to sentences such as *The group wasn't here*. In the former case, an indefinite precedes the verb phrase so that the negative is placed with the indefinite; in the latter case, the preceding noun phrase is not an indefinite so that the negative remains in the verb phrase. (In actuality, this rule extends to indefinites as part of a larger class of quantifiers, but this dimension adds complexities beyond the scope of the present discussion.) This is a quite regular rule, which involves the placement of the negative at one point in the sentence while removing it from another. In SJE, as in some other varieties of English where this pattern is found, the negative is simply copied onto the preceding indefinite while being retained in the verb phrase as well.

It is questionable whether SJE uses two logical negatives within a proposition as in standard English, so that we cannot be certain if a structure such as *Nobody didn't like it* might be structurally ambiguous, with either an affirmative (with two logical negatives) or negative (with one logical negative copied at more than one point) interpretation. We do not have any sentences in our corpus where the context clearly favors the postulation of two logical negatives comparable to the standard English pattern. That there may be a structural exclusion of this type should in no way be considered as unique to SJE or cognitively restricting. Rivero (1970) has shown that there are languages which are structured in such a way to prohibit such constructions, even though they might be quite plausible semantically. For example, Spanish prohibits constructions with two logical negatives such as *Nadie no lo hace 'Nobody doesn't do it' because there is a syntactic restriction of one negative particle constituent with each simple sentence. Data is lacking for a possible parallel in Tewa, since the discussion of negation in the literature is so restricted. At this point, we may cautiously suggest that structures such as Nobody doesn't like Sara Lee, with two logical negatives resulting in a type of affirmative interpretation may not appear as a part of the SJE system. However, we await further evidence to state this conclusion more confidently.

Although the incidence of negative concord involving a pre-verbal indefinite is limited in our sample, it appears to be a relatively stable part of the SJE system. It is distributed throughout the various age levels of speakers in our sample, with speakers from 10 to 54 using it. In those varieties of non-mainstream English where it is found, its incidence tends to be low in comparison with other types of negative concord. Even in those varieties where other types of negative concord may approach categoricality, it is rarely used in more than half of all the constructions in which it might occur (cf. Wolfram 1974:180). Thus, the relatively low incidence of its occurrence in SJE does not seem out of proportion with its frequency levels in other non-mainstream varieties.

There are several alternative explanations which can be offered in accounting for the presence of this type of negative concord in SJE. Most prominent among these, however, is rule generalization which historically can be traced to the learning of English as a second language. We may posit that this process fossilized among those speakers who learned English as a second language, and has been transmitted to the current generation of speakers as an integral part of the SJE system. The type of generalization found here is quite typical of the types of rule extensions which characterize language learners (Kiparsky 1968:193). Rather than delete the negative in one position while incorporating it at another position, the negative at the one point is simply copied at another point. The two operations, movement and deletion, are simplified to one copying process. Rule extensions of this type are one of the most typical strategies observed by second language learners.[12]

Since this is a general strategy associated with language learning, such a modification could naturally take place regardless of the language source. Thus, speakers of English as a second language might use this construction despite the fact that no parallel structure can be found in the source language (Wolfram 1974:180-181). Even if we found a comparable structure in Tewa, we would have to consider it a supportive argument rather than an exclusive one, since there are so many examples of this type of rule generalization found among second language learners regardless of the source language.

Although we attribute the emergence of this negative pattern historically to a language learning strategy, it must be noted that this is a pattern also found in other non-mainstream varieties of English (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:164). This observation naturally raises the possibility that it could be attributed to dialect diffusion rather than independent development. While this explanation cannot be dismissed categorically, we question whether this diffusion could be a sufficient explanation in itself. The majority of clear-cut cases of Anglo diffusion in SJE point to the predominant influence of midland (particularly northern) varieties of English. Yet midland varieties have little if any substantive incidence of this negative concord pattern. The isoglossal distribution for this structure would have to be different from the vast majority of features obviously diffused from other varieties of English. This distribution, then, would show a somewhat discontinuous pattern as compared with other diffused features of SJE. As mentioned in our introduction to this chapter (cf. Section 3.1.3), discontinuous isoglossal patterns are most typical of "natural" changes of this type, because the structures can arise independent of contact situations. Diffusion of less natural changes typically shows a more continuous isogloss pattern, since these are dependent on contact for transmission. In the case of negative concord, however, we have a natural type of generalization which could emerge independent of such contact and, hence, reveal a more discontinuous pattern.

While we turn to generalization as a product of second language learning as a primary explanation for this negative pattern in SJE, we do not mean to exclude the supportive effect that other contact varieties might have potentially in its stabilization as a part of the system. However, rather than look for supportive influence from one of the Anglo varieties which has exerted influence on other aspects of the SJE system, we turn to the surrounding Hispanic community for such evidence. Given the historical situation in which English was also learned as a second language we might expect this negative pattern to be used by speakers from the Hispanic community as well. The existence of this type of negation among Spanish-influenced varieties of English has been documented elsewhere (Wolfram 1974:180) and informal observation indicates its occurrence in this community. We thus suggest possible convergence from this source, which assists in the stabilization of the structure for subsequent generations of SJE speakers.

3.2.6.3 Negatives Across Clauses

Before concluding our discussion of negative concord, we should mention several examples of negative concord which apparently involve negative structures across clauses. This is somewhat different from the cases cited above, although it qualifies as a type of negative concord. In these cases, the auxiliary of the second clause is negativized in addition to the negativization of the first clause. There are only a couple of examples of this phenomenon and they appear to involve quite different structures.

(60) a. ...and I don't think nowadays this kids aren't getting that. 76:115

b. I'm not gonna deny she's not spoiled. 76:503

In both (60a) and (60b), the context indicates that the interpretation would be quite different from the expected standard English one.

In the first case, the speaker is commenting on the fact that the current generation is being deprived of certain traditional aspects of life to which the older generation had access. In the second case, the speaker is admitting that her child is spoiled. In both cases, the context clearly calls for a negative interpretation.

The first case involves a special case of negative copying between clauses where negative transportation between clauses might take place in standard English.[13] There is a rule which can take the negative from a clause dominated by a verb such as *think*, *believe*, and *expect* and place it with this verb instead. Thus, we might get something like *I don't think nowadays this kids are getting that* from *I think nowadays this kids aren't getting that*.[14] In this case however, we simply have a copying of the negative of the embedded clause with the verb of the matrix clause.

The second instance involves a somewhat different case, in which a negative in the verb phrase with an inherently negative verb is interpreted as an affirmative. (In this case, a negative plus *deny* is a weakened form of admission.) However, the negative in the embedded clause does not result in another logical negative in the proposition. Instead, the negative of the matrix sentence is simply copied on the embedded sentence, so that the effect of the meaning of the sentence corresponds to *I'm not denying she's spoiled*.

SJE is not, of course, the only variety of English which can extend its negative across clauses. There are other varieties of English which have been observed to use such a pattern. In other varieties, as in SJE, it tends to be very infrequent. Thus, it is not unusual that we should have only two examples of this type of concord in our entire corpus. Due to the paucity of examples, it is difficult to determine the ways in which SJE might compare precisely with other varieties. Like the negative concord involving a pre-verbal indefinite and a negativized auxiliary, there is some basis for suggesting that this construction might arise independent of other varieties. However, we must also consider the possibility of transfer from Tewa as well, since the negative suffix co-occurring with the negative prefix in simple sentences can also function as a negation subordinator of a clause in a complex sentence (Speirs 1966:141). This more expanded function of the "negative suffix" in Tewa may provide a basis for realizing negative concord across clauses in the emerging English variety. More specific consideration of the source of such sentences awaits a more adequate inventory of examples.

We may conclude our discussion of negative concord in SJE by comparing it with other varieties of English. This can be done through a table which shows the relationship of various dialects of English to each other. Four main aspects of negative concord are delimited in Table 3.20: (1) copying of the negative element on post-verbal indefinites in addition to the negative element in the main verb phrase (i.e. sentences like He didn't do nothing),(2) the copying of the negative on a pre-verbal indefinite and the main verb phrase (i.e. sentences like Nobody can't do it), (3) inversion of the negativized auxiliary and the pre-verbal indefinite (i.e. sentences like Can't nobody do it as a declarative), and (4) application of the negative to an auxiliary in another clause (i.e. sentences like There wasn't much he couldn't do). In this table, adopted from Wolfram and Christian (1976), three different symbols are used to represent the operation of the rules; 1 is used to indicate the categorical operation of negative concord (i.e. it is used in all cases where it might be used), X is used to indicate that it is used variably (i.e. it sometimes applies but not in all cases), and 0 is used to indicate that it is never used.

English Dialect(s)	Post-Verbal Indefinities	Pre-Verbal Ind/Neg. Aux.	Negative Inversion	Neg. Aux. Across Clauses
Standard English	0	0	0	0
Some Northern White Varieties	X	0	0	0
Other Northern White Varieties	X	X	0	0
San Juan English	X	X	0	X
Some Southern White Varieties	X	X	X	0
Appalachian English	X	X	X	X
Vernacular Black English	1	X	X	X

Table 3.20 Comparison of Various Dialects of English with Respect to Different Types of Multiple Negation

Table 3.20 indicates that there are a number of similarities in the use of negative concord in SJE and other non-mainstream varieties of English. There is, however, a difference in the total configuration of negative concord patterns. While SJE is like other non-mainstream varieties in sharing certain types of concord, it is the only variety which has negative concord across clauses without negative inversion, disturbing the regular implicational relationships that other studies of non-mainstream varieties have revealed.

Despite the extent of the similarities between SJE and other non-mainstream varieties, we have suggested that this is not necessarily the result of diffusion from these varieties. Given the naturalness of the changes involved in these various types of concord, they can certainly arise independent of other varieties. Rule generalization taking place historically as a general function of learning English as a second language was considered a primary explanation in our treatment along with some convergence from native language sources. In line with this explanation, we may understand why the particular configuration of negative concord excludes negative inversion. Among the various types of negative concord, it seems to be the least viable candidate for a generalization process, since inversion involves a movement of the negativized auxiliary out of the verb phrase to a position in front of the subject noun phrase. This seems to be a marked movement. Once negation has been placed on the auxiliary within the verb phrase, movement of a negativized auxiliary to another position (i.e. placed at another position while deleting it in the verb phrase) does not appear to be a change which would take place as a natural generalization of a rule. We thus suggest that there is a reasonable explanation for the particular configuration of negative concord in SJE as opposed to other varieties, and one which is viable from a perspective which minimizes the primary role of diffusion. At best, it seems ascribed to a supportive and secondary role.

3.2.6.4 The Use of Ain't

Perhaps the most popular shibboleth of social dialects in American English is the use of ain't. Although it involves the simple use of one lexical item for another, it has become one of the most widely stigmatized items within the English system. As a simple lexical alternate it has little significance linguistically; however, as a popularized stereotype, it may give us insight into the more general patterning of such stigmatized features in SJE.

Treatments of ain't in other studies show that ain't has been used as a lexical alternate for several classes of items. First, it may be used as an alternative to the negative contraction of haven't or hasn't. Second, it may be used as an alternate for the negative contraction isn't and aren't.[15] And, in some varieties of English, it has even been extended to serve as a lexical alternate for didn't (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:162).

In SJE, there are very few instances of ain't. We do, however, have infrequent examples, such as the following:

(61) a. Rocky ain't in here. 183:511
b. ...well, it ain't her fault. 116:674

Such instances are, however, quite rare, especially when compared with its frequency in other varieties of English. The infrequency of *ain't* in SJE can clearly be seen on the basis of the following tabulation, in which the incidence of *ain't* for *isn't*, *aren't*, and *haven't/hasn't* is tabulated. The tabulation, which includes a total of 22 speakers, is broken down into four different age categories. *Ain't* for *didn't* was not included here since there was no indication that this correspondence was used in SJE.

Age	Number Speakers	No ain't	No. aren't/ isn't	No ain't	No. haven't hasn't	Total	% ain't
10-20	7	1	3	0	8	1/12	8.5
21-40	5	0	4	0	12	0/16	0.0
41-60	5	0	5	0	13	0/18	0.0
60+	5	0	3	0	2	0/5	0.0

Table 3.21 Extent of *ain't* for Four Age Levels of SJE Speakers

Although there are not many potential examples of *ain't* for some groups, the figures indicate that *ain't* is not common.[16] This appears to be a valid representation of the use of *ain't* in this SJE sample as observed throughout the more extended corpus. It is also observed that the few examples of *ain't* in our corpus are used by those in the 10-20 year age range. We have no examples of this form among the older subjects. Quite clearly, then, the picture that emerges is one in which *ain't* is used quite infrequently, particularly as compared with its frequency in some other non-mainstream varieties. In some of these varieties, *ain't* usage is semi-categorical as a correspondence for at least *isn't* and *aren't* (cf. Wolfram and Christian 1976:116)

The relative absence of *ain't* in itself is not peculiar, since there are many mainstream varieties of English which resolutely avoid the use of this item. What is noteworthy, however, is the non-occurrence of *ain't* along with many traditionally stigmatized structures with which it might be associated. For example, negative concord has been shown to co-occur with *ain't* (cf. Wolfram 1974:155), yet SJE indicates a considerable amount of negative concord while generally avoiding ain't. Negative concord is certainly a stigmatized structure and is usually stereotyped, yet it persists in SJE while ain't is avoided. Other features show a similar distribution. Third person singular -Z absence and tense shifting are also prominent socially diagnostic features, yet speakers (particularly the older ones) may show an abundance of such features while avoiding ain't.

The co-occurrence relationships among various stigmatized structures displayed by the case of ain't seems to be quite unlike the relationships found in non-mainstream varieties discussed in the recent literature (e.g. Wolfram and Fasold 1974). If ain't were the only instance of this type of selection process, we might attribute it to some peculiarity about this form, but this is not the case. There are other structures that indicate a more general distributional pattern. For example, tabulations on one of our subjects (in the 40-60 age range) indicate fairly extensive third person singular -Z absence, widespread tense shifting, and some limited extent of negative concord, among other structures that might typically be considered quite stigmatized items. Yet the same speaker maintains the shall/will distinction for first person subject, the spelling pronunciation of often (i.e. with the t), and the use of well for the adverbial function of good within the same general context of the conversation in which the other non-standard structures are found. The result, then, is a dose of traditional standard English prescriptivism mixed in with a good sample of structures considered to be quite non-standard.

Given this observation, how do we explain this apparent irony? Although we can only speculate at this point, there may be an historical explanation for such selective prescriptivism. In this connection, it should be remembered that many of the older speakers were first exposed to English when they were sent to school. The English-only policy in the school situation (whether it was a day or boarding school) exposed many of these residents to what might be considered a disproportionate degree of "classroom" English. In some cases, the use of English was strictly limited to the school and some limited non-Pueblo contact situations. In this context, we might expect to find that a certain amount of prescriptivism would have its impact on the emerging variety of English in the pueblo.

The realization of this prescriptivism in these speakers may also be reinforced by some indigenous values concerning linguistic purism. Dozier (1956:512), for example, points out that linguistic purism typified some of the Rio Grande pueblo Indians in their use of the native language. In Dozier's study of Tewa, this is exemplified in their resistance to loanwords. In a somewhat analogous situation, Kroskrity(1977:241) indicates that prescriptivism in Arizona Tewa is manifested in speakers' concerns for the "correct" form of Tewa and the appeal to certain archaisms in particular situations. The prescriptive value found in the indigenous culture, then, might be adopted in English, even at the most incipient stages of learning. The shibboleths of English prescriptivism would functionally coincide with an analogous traditional value. The overlay of an indigenous cultural value together with the prescriptivism fostered in the learning context of English might explain why SJE appears to reveal more prescriptive items of English than some other non-native English speaking groups which have been exposed to English initially in the classroom. From this perspective, the relative infrequency of ain't usage might be symbolic on a much deeper level of value orientation.

We would certainly expect that any incidence of ain't, where found, would be most likely among the younger speakers. For these speakers, the traditional indigenous value on prescriptivism would not be as prominent and they would be much more subject to diffusion from other non-mainstream varieties as they are exposed to the wider range of options among the varieties of English.

At this point, one might ask why the influence of this type of prescriptivism might appear to be so isolated and selective. That is, why are certain items apparently chosen as the focus of this concern while other, more general patterns appear to be ignored? In this connection, we point out that the traditional prescriptive forms found here are typically shibboleths which involve one or two lexical items or are quite restricted subjects of a rule. The learning of such tokens would not seriously interfere with the strong linguistic influence that might be exerted from native language patterns or generalized changes resulting from learning English as a second language. For example, the application of the -Z third person singular rule of English requires the regular and general application of a rule to practically every verb in English. This is a significant generalization. Or, the application of tense marking on the verb might be in conflict with the native language system with practically every verb of the English system. Here again, we have a widespread rule application. In these cases, we have significant linguistic pressures which are competing with the target system. On the other hand, the learning of restricted lexical correspondences costs little in the way of linguistic adaptation. *Ain't* is just used for several lexical items which can be learned as lexical alternates. There is no particular linguistic generalization or pressure from the native language system with which it is competing. Thus, a linguistic explanation and a social one appear go hand-in-hand in accounting for this prescriptivism which focuses on a restricted set of items while bowing to the linguistic pressures of more general processes.

3.2.6.5 Other Negative Structures

There are several other negative structures that we might mention in connection with SJE, although we cannot be certain of the extent to which these structures are characteristic of the system or idiosyntactic. One pattern found in several examples is the use of a pre-verbal positive quantifier with the retention of the negative in the auxiliary. We thus have sentences like:

(62) a. *All* the dead people weren't there no more. 117:262
b. We *both didn't* have any money. 125:54

In the first case, the negative is not moved to the pre-verbal quantifier as we would expect in the standard English correspondence, which would be *None of the dead people* or *Not all the dead people...*[17] In the second case, the positive quantifier *both* is used in lieu of the negativized quantifier *neither*. Both examples, however, involve the non-movement of the negative in the verb phrase to the pre-verbal quantifier. We are not certain of the extent of this modification, but have no examples of it affecting indefinites such as *anyone* (e.g. **Anyone didn't go*). At this point, we can only say that it appears to affect a limited set of quantifiers.

3.2.7 Questions

The formation of questions is another variable which has been shown to be sensitive to dialect differences in American English, and a number of non-mainstream and mainstream varieties treat particular types of questions differently.

3.2.7.1 Inversion

One type of difference observed between varieties is found with respect to "question inversion". The typical pattern of question formation involves the inversion of the auxiliary in the verb phrase with the subject of the sentence, so that a declarative sentence such as *He was doing his homework* or *He went home* would form its question counterpart by moving the auxiliary before the subject, as in *Was he doing his homework* or *Did he go home*? This type of inversion takes place whether the question is of the yes/no type (*Was he going?*) or with a *wh*-question (e.g. *Where was he going*?) so long as the *wh*- word is not the subject of the sentence (e.g. *Who was going*) since the *wh* word gets moved to the front of the sentence.

In SJE there is a pattern in which questions need not undergo inversion particularly with *wh*- questions. These are illustrated by sentences such as (63):

(63) a. When they*'re gonna* take you? (78:121)

b. Then how *you could* hold on to it? (116:965)

c. Who's *he's married* to? (116:578)

With the *wh* word indicating the interrogative nature of the sentence, question inversion is essentially a redundant aspect, and the sentence is still, of course, understood as a question. This type of formation is not unfamiliar to other non-mainstream varieties (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:169) nor is it uncommon for second language learners (cf. Burt and Kiparsky 1972), since it involves a generalization process.

The pattern of question non-inversion can also be maintained with non-*wh* questions under special conditions. The most obvious condition is when a coordinate sentence has already been indicated as a question in the first part of the sentence. In this instance, the second part of the coordinate structure need not undergo question inversion, as in sentences (64a-d).

(64) a. If you were the teacher, how would you punish, or you would just let the kids do as they please? (118:65)

b. Is she gonna live here or she's gonna go? (144:290)

c. Did everyone in your class speak English or they spoke Indian? (104:188)

d. Did anybody get hurt or you didn't see? (119:224)

Here again, inversion in the second part of the coordinate structure may be considered as somewhat redundant, since the use of a question is already indicated by the first part of the coordinate structure. The absence of question inversion in this type of context is not apparently unique to SJE although it has not been discussed for other varieties. In fact, structures of this type can sometimes be found in the casual styles of some mainstream varieties of English.

3.2.7.2 Generalized no Tag

Whereas the types of question formation exemplified above are not particularly frequent in SJE, one fairly widespread feature of informal conversation in SJE is the use of no? as a tag form in a question. As a feature which has not been cited for other non-mainstream varieties, this structure is of special interest here. It is also of interest because of the implications in terms of the possible source from which it may be derived. We shall therefore devote more detail to this aspect of questions in SJE than those simply cited above. The use of the no tag is found in exchanges like the following:

(65) a. FW: ...but everybody goes to school.

Sp: What about Elmer? Well, he works, no?

FW: Yeah. (186:510)

b. FW: No, they were raking out here and all that dust was there. Bet those guys were tired, no?

Sp: Um-hmm. And hot.

FW: And hot. Bet they'd sure like to have a sprinkle of water. (89:131)

This no? construction also occurs, to a lesser extent, in narratives that report such exchanges, as in (66):

(66) Sp: "You were so little like this," he says "but
you sure can reach up there and hit me, no?"
See, everytime I'd jump up, I'd hit him, you
know. He's so tall, I couldn't reach him. (80:384)

From occurrences like those illustrated above, it would appear that this construction is an alternative to the full tag question that can be appended to statements, as in (67).

(67) a. He works, doesn't he?

b. I'll bet those guys were tired, weren't they?

c. They came to town yesterday, didn't they?

d. They didn't come to town yet, did they?

These full tags bear a definite relation to the statement that they follow in that they reflect the subject (in pronoun form) and auxiliary of the sentence. If no auxiliary is present, the appropriate form of do is used. In addition, tags typically exhibit reverse polarity; that is, if the statement is positive, the tag that accompanies it is negative and vice versa (as contrasted in (67c) and (67d) above). The use of tags of this type functions to seek confirmation of the statement involved. It is also possible to use tags of matching polarity, that is where the statement and the tag are both either positive or negative, but the function of these tags is not as easy to identify. These matching polarity tags are illustrated in (68):

(68) a. He works, does he?

b. They came to town yesterday, did they?

(Fuller discussions of the way tags work can be found in Huddleston 1970 and Cattell 1973.)

The use of no? in SJE parallels to some extent the use of negative polarity tags on positive statements. For many occurrences of no?, it is possible to construct an alternative full tag that would work in much the same way in a conversational exchange. In this way, then, no? can be said to be a generalized tag in that it can be appended to a certain class of statements instead of the full tags which would vary in accordance with the subject and auxiliary (or lack of auxiliary) of the statements. The no form remains invariant. We can see the type of correspondence that may hold for these tags in comparing the members of the pairs in (69):

(69) a. Those men still were singing, *no*? (78:080)
Those men still were singing, *weren't they*?
b. I guess some people could tell, *no*? (103A:99)
I guess some people could tell, *couldn't they*?
c. Byron likes Maria, *no*? (123:41)
Byron likes Maria, *doesn't he*?

There are, however, other kinds of tag questions in widespread use that might also be considered as generalized tags for many of the same reasons as *no*. These include forms like *right*?, *huh*? and, operating somewhat differently, phrases like *don't you think*?[18] and so on. These are tags whose function is to seek confirmation, but whose form need not change in accordance with the accompanying statement. The details of their distribution cannot be explored here, but a few examples follow.

(70) a. He works, *right*?
b. They're leaving tomorrow, *huh*?
c. That book's pretty interesting, *don't you* $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{think}\\ \text{agree}\end{matrix}\right\}$?

These tags appear to differ in the type of confirmation they seek and in the degree of confidence they express that confirmation will be given. For example, *right*? indicates more confidence in the accuracy of the statement than *huh?* does. In the case of the phrases like *don't you agree*?, they specify more precisely what kind of confirmation is sought. Rather than confirmation of truthfulness, for example, *don't you agree*? seems more a request for agreement about an opinion of the speaker. These observations are, however, purely impressionistic and would need to be put to the test of much closer examination.

The point is that *no*? in SJE is a member of a set of generalized tags like *right*? or *huh*? that operates in this variety and is not a member of the set in many other varieties. *No*? does not appear to be exactly interchangeable with any other members of this set, and so is not simply an alternate form. For the most part, it corresponds to full tags with negative polarity attached to positive statements that seek confirmation. However, it does occur in other contexts that seem to call for its usage being even more generalized. We can now discuss these other occurrences in order to characterize the full range of usage of this structure.

Like other generalized tags, *no*? can occur where a full tag is not specifiable, as when a process like ellipsis has left parts of a statement unexpressed. Consider the following examples:

(71) a. Sp: I like to listen to my grandpa when he gets mad.
He goes "I want a hamburger and you won't even
wait for me."

FW: Like those little ones, *no*?

Sp: Umhmm. They stand there, "I want a hamburger."
(89:178)

b. Sp1: ...and he saw the, what was it? Like a hill
like that, *no*?

Sp2: Umhmm.

Sp1: And King Kong looked at it too and...(123:126)

In these cases, there are no subjects and verbs expressed to provide the structure to form a full tag. However, the phrase offered can still be left open for confirmation with a generalized tag.

Another situation where a full tag question would not be available is found in answers to questions which may nonetheless be qualified in this confirmation-seeking way. This occurs in an instance like (72) where a name is suggested in answer to a question.

(72) Sp1: Yeah, they were gonna show it to us at,
...what do you call it...

Sp2: Santa Clara, *no*?

Sp1: Yeah...but they said it wasn't, it didn't
come in or something like that... (184:578)

This is probably a special case, because of the nature of the question being as much self-addressed as directed to the other participant. All answers to questions would not be expected to allow tags of this sort, but it certainly seems possible for some, and when they occur, they are generalized tag forms.

There are also cases where a full tag would be possible, but an unexpected portion might also be tagged. In this case, the full tag would signal a different intention than the use of a generalized tag since the full tag is tied directly to what is overtly expressed. Consider, for example, the use of *no*? in (73):

(73) FW: What do you like to do when you get home
from school?

Sp1: I like to go over my grandma's.

Sp2: So you can play with me, *no*? 78:310

If a full tag had been used, we would expect an utterance like *So you can play with me, can't you*. This would be very different from the utterance as it occurred in this discourse with the generalized tag. The speaker here was suggesting a reason why the previous speaker liked going to his grandma's (overtly signaled only by *so*) and the tag asked for confirmation of that as the reason. The full tag would not have accomplished that purpose.

One final class of occurrences of no? points up a further difference between generalized and full tags. As we have seen, full tags, being directly related to the preceding clause, are in a sense limited in scope to that single clause. Generalized tags, on the other hand, can have several clauses within their scope. Consider the segment of discourse in (74):

(74) FW: You chase 'em out and you lock the door so you can watch it, no?

Sp: Yeah. (91:222)

The fact that the subjects are identical in the two main clauses makes it more difficult to see this contrast, since the full tag, don't you, could accompany either clause. However, an expression like She chases 'em out and you lock the door so that you can watch it, no? appears to be allowable. The no? tag seeks confirmation of the entire utterance, including both main clauses. This scope is contrasted with that of the full tag, don't you, which can only refer to the second main clause in the expression. This scope difference is still speculative at this point due to a lack of examples of such compound expressions followed by no?.

So far, then, no? appears to be an additional member of the set of generalized tags for speakers of SJE. It occurs mainly in informal situations and seems to be quite pervasive in these casual conversations. This observation is supported both by unrecorded conversational experience with members of the community and by the fact that the majority of examples from our corpus occur when two or more speakers are engaged in conversation with a fieldworker. In these cases, the conversations tend to be more animated, and the speakers can address these sorts of confirmation questions to each other more readily than they could to the fieldworker. Another major source of examples is the fieldworkers themselves, who would be in a favorable position to ask questions.

We have, up to this point, seen only examples of no? in use with positive declarative utterances. If the usage of this tag is limited by polarity, this would make it somewhat different from other generalized tags. There are, however, instances in the corpus of no? following a negative expression, although they constitute a fairly small portion of the total (just five of over fifty instances collected).

These are illustrated in (75):

(75) a. FW: Do you ever go watch the baseball at the pueblo on Sundays?

Sp1: I never watch it.

Sp2: Sometimes we-, but we don't watch it no more, no?

Sp1: I don't. (123:085)

b. Sp1: It's true. We raised all the money and then all the other grades won't raise nothing, no?

Sp2: They did. (183:658)

c. Sp: I wonder what happened to George. He wasn't active at all, no? (104A:177)

There are two possible explanations for these instances. On the one hand, no? may simply be acting like other generalized tags by occurring freely with both positive and negative expressions (cf. It's hard, right? and It's not hard, right?). On the other hand, it is possible that no? carries a negative polarity. In that case, the pairing of negative tag with negative expression might be an instance of the constant polarity tag mentioned earlier (i.e., of the type it's time to leave, is it?). For the examples we currently have, the first explanation appears to be the better one. None of the cases where a negative expression is followed by no? seem to match with the kinds of meaning differences that have been postulated for reverse as opposed to constant polarity tags. Cattel (1973) concludes that

> ...so far as positive host clauses are concerned at least, a matching tag question means that the host clause is not put forward as the point of view of the speaker, but as one that is possibly that of the hearer. (1973:615)

This kind of difference would not appear to be present in the corpus we have. Additionally, as Cattell also observes, matching polarity may be limited to positive contexts, which would make this explanation for no? even harder to support. That is, whether a matching polarity situation with a negative statement can even arise is questionable (e.g. *It isn't ready, isn't it?). In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we will assume that the relative lack of restriction with respect to polarity is another feature that no? shares with other generalized tags, although it may find positive contexts more favorable.

The facts that we have concerning the usage of the *no*? tag in the SJE corpus lead us to conclude that, while the tag definitely occurs most frequently with positive statements, it is possible to attach it to negative statements as well and retain its confirmation-seeking purpose. This characteristic conforms to the other members of the set of generalized tags.

There are, in addition, two types of *no*? usage that seem to depart from the usual way generalized tags work which need to be discussed. The first is a single occurrence in the corpus of *no*? following a question form. This example is given in (76):

(76) Sp: ...she didn't have a chance to sign up
so I don't know if she could still go or not.

FW: Well, this is another one that Benny has--
a youth group on Tuesday nights in swimming.

Sp: There-, don't you have to be a certain age
before you can get in, *no*?

FW: No, it's from eight to sixteen. (76:296)

Tags do not follow questions and if *no*? can, this would make it a very different type of tag. It would not appear, however, that we need to expand the range of contexts in which *no*? can occur to include questions for several reasons. First, the fact that this combination occurs only once in the data and was never noticed in any conversations with members of the community would at the start make it an unusual case. Second, certain observations about the particular question that *no*? does appear with in (76) can be made. Question forms can serve a variety of functions. For example, *can you give me a hand?* is a question form but is most likely to function as a request for action. Similarly, questions can be used to make suggestions. In this case, it would appear that *don't you have to be a certain age before you can get in* is a suggestion that *you have to be a certain age*. The speaker has qualified the suggestion by putting it into question form, seeking confirmation. Then, by the use of the *no*? tag, it has been further qualified, with the tag and the question form being used to accomplish the same goal. Essentially either one could have been used to do this. Instead both were. It appears, therefore, that this example is an unusual case but explainable in these terms.

The other set of instances of no? that seems to depart from the characteristics of generalized tags is also fairly small. This set involves no? occurring internally in an utterance or at several points within a single turn. These are illustrated in (77):

(77) a. Sp: ...now you don't see anybody chopping wood and building fires in stoves like, now, gas and all that, and the food doesn't taste good in those gas stoves. With wood, no, you cook beans and all that, they taste good... (87:052)

b. Sp: ...the man got on a big tree, no, that was like that, no, and then he went like that and then he dropped it and then all the mens fell except for two, no? (123:128)

The instance in (77a) may indicate that it is possible to move the no? tag to the part of the utterance that is central to the issue on which confirmation is sought. In this case, the issue is cooking on gas versus wood stoves. The with wood phrase has been fronted, giving it prominence, and the tag follows it. Confirmation is asked for the claim that things taste better when cooked on a wood fire. This is very tentative at this point, since there is only one example. In (77b) the tags occur in their usual placement. What is noticed here is their frequency within a single turn, with little opportunity for response from the other participant. This type of usage occurs several times by children relating narratives with other children present who also know the story and can presumably vouch for the speaker's version. The child tells the story to the fieldworker but inserts many of these tags which seem to be like checkpoints. By not objecting, the other child may be providing affirmation of the accuracy of the retelling.[19]

We have seen that no? works as a generalized tag in SJE, having for the most part the same characteristics as other generalized tags in English. However, this tag does not appear to be a part of many varieties of English. In the case of SJE, it would appear that the use of no? originated from Spanish influence. Spanish does not form full tag questions as English does, and instead tags like no?, si?, and verdad? are used. These tags have also been observed in the English spoken by individuals who speak both Spanish and English. Lance (1975) considers this to be Spanish-English code-switching, giving among his extensive list of examples, those in (14):

(78) a. (11) Oh, they make like invitations and all that, no?

b. (12) It's about the same, no? (Lance 1975:141)

While code-switching may be the explanation for this feature in the population Lance considered this explanation, is not appropriate for the speakers of SJE given the frequency of English and Spanish combinations that occur. Many of SJE speakers do not also speak Spanish, and there is little evidence of extensive integration from Spanish elsewhere in their system.[20] Certainly, such an explanation is not appropriate for the younger speakers, where the feature remains in current usage. While its origin may be based on earlier contacts with Spanish, and its maintenance reinforced through contacts with speakers of Spanish-influenced English outside the context of the community, we must conclude that it is an integral part of the SJE variety, crossing across generational and language background differences among community members.

3.2.8 Plurality in SJE

There are many aspects of the noun phrase which might have been focused on in describing the SJE system. As indicated in the inventory of SJE characteristics (cf. Appendix A), there are a number of different structures which are realized in determiners, noun forms, and pronominal forms. Some of these are well-known from descriptions of these structures in other non-mainstream varieties of English, whereas others seem to set SJE apart from other varieties

One aspect of the noun phrase which has received considerable attention in different non-mainstream varieties concerns plurality. Plural usage in these varieties often differs to some extent from that in mainstream varieties, most frequently in terms of the realization of particular plural markers. In SJE, we find instances of plural marking which also differ from standard English. The major types of plural marking differences are (1) absence of the regular plural suffix, such as a lot of kid (102:12) or four sister (129:4) and (2) nonstandard forms on irregular plurals, such as these two old mans (197:19) or grandchildrens, I have three (103:114). These types will be discussed separately below.

3.2.8.1 Plural -Z Absence

Indicating plural is one of the three grammatical functions for the suffix which can be referred to as -Z. (The others are 3rd person singular concord marking and possessive marking -- the -s endings in he walks and Pete's, respectively.) This cover symbol represents the morpheme which acts as a suffix signalling one of the three functions and which takes one of three forms, depending on the final segment of the word to which it is being attached. If the word ends in a sibilant, that is, s, z, sh[š] zh[ž], ch[tš] or j[dž], the ending has the form [Iz], as in maz[Iz] or peach[Iz]. If a word ends in a non-sibilant that is voiced, the suffix is [z] (pig[z], fan[z]) and after a voiceless segment, it is [s] (cup[s], graph[s]). In SJE, we occasionally observe cases where a plural noun is used but the -Z suffix is absent. Some of these cases are shown in (79).

(79) a. ...from different part__ of Hawaii. (94:11)
b. What are some of your favorite program__? (114:2)
c. Their throat__ were dry (104:16)
d. Three other place__ we went (106:10)

The level of plural absence is fairly low, with the range for individual speakers being 0 to 30 percent, and most speakers show less than 10 percent absence. Other studies of nonmainstream varieties have also reported some degree of plural absence but similarly at a relatively low frequency level (Labov et al 1968; Wolfram 1971; Wolfram and Christian 1975).

These other studies have also concluded that plural -Z absence is the result of a grammatical, rather than a phonological process, a conclusion that applies for SJE as well. One type of evidence that supports this is the fact that phonological features of the environment do not greatly affect the frequency of deletion of the suffix. If the process were phonological, we would expect that the environment would play a much greater role. Table 3.22 shows the composite figures for 21 SJE speakers with respect to plural absence, with a breakdown according to phonological features of the following environment and the form of the suffix. In the table, a following consonant is indicated by ____C (e.g. kids that),

Following Environment

Suffix	____C		____V		____//	
	N/T	% Abs	N/T	% Abs	N/T	% Abs
-/s/	5/79	6.3	2/101	2.0	3/83	3.6
-/z/	9/448	2.0	13/362	3.6	22/433	5.1
-/Iz/	2/35	5.7	0/25	0	2/42	4.8

Table 3.22. Frequency of Plural Absence for SJE

a following vowel by ____V (e.g. two weeks and) and a following pause by ____// (e.g. teachers ##). This tabulation shows no consistent effect on the amount of absence for either following environment or form of the suffix which would indicate that this is not a phonological process. Other supporting evidence is given in section 3.25 where the status of the deletion of 3rd person singular -Z is discussed. The fact that the grammatical function exerts an influence on the frequency of absence of the -Z suffix also points to a grammatical process. As we saw in that discussion, differences between grammatical functions of -Z and between speakers were much greater than between phonologically-defined environments for the 3rd person function. From Table 3.22, we see that phonological environment does not appear to affect the rate of plural absence either.

There may be other, non-phonological influences on plural absence that need to be checked. One possibility is that a preceding quantifier signalling the plurality of the noun lessens the need for the plural marker on the noun itself. This type of modification has been shown to favor plural absence in some varieties (Wolfram 1969) and involves phrases such as three boys or some friends. Another situation in which plural absence has occurred in some varieties is in the use of measure nouns, such as dollars, miles, or weeks (Wolfram and Christian 1975). In order to determine whether or not these features influence plural absence in SJE, we tabulated the percentages of plurals absent out of the total number of plurals for three categories--those nouns preceded by a quantifier, measure nouns and others. In most cases, plural measure nouns were also preceded by a quantifier, but these were counted within the "measure" category. The results of this tabulation are shown by individuals in Table 3.23.

Age Group	Speaker Number	Quantifier Abs/Pot	Quantifier %	Measure Noun Abs/Pot	Measure Noun %	Other Abs/Pot	Other %	
10-19	85	0/5	0	--	-	0/57	0	
	119	0/18	0	0/4	0	0/86	0	
	120	0/13	0	0/4	0	0/86	0	
	150	0/16	0	0/1	0	0/68	0	
	94	0/7	0	0/2	0	1/23	4.3	
	187	0/12	0	0/2	0	0/25	0	
	Total		0		0		0.3	0.2
20-39	105	0/5	0	0/2	0	0/25	0	
	114	1/13	7.7	0/4	0	0/68	0	
	126	0/7	0	0/1	0	3/39	7.7	
	188	0/24	0	0/1	0	0/83	0	
	189	1/9	11.1	0/3	0	1/73	1.4	
	Total		3.4		0		1.4	1.7
40-59	79	1/18	5.6	0/3	0	4/22	18.2	
	80	1/24	4.2	0/16	0	0/102	0	
	104	0/20	0	0/8	0	6/73	8.2	
	106	8/18	44.4	0/17	0	3/67	4.5	
	130	2/14	14.2	0/18	0	2/107	1.9	5.1
	Total		12.8		0		4.0	
60+	87	2/14	14.2	0/2	0	1/55	1.8	
	102	2/12	16.7	1/5	20.0	4/56	7.1	
	103	2/10	20.0	0/10	0	3/70	4.2	
	127	0/10	0	0/2	0	0/19	0	
	129	8/14	57.1	--	-	1/16	6.3	
	Total		23.3		5.3		4.2	8.1
Total		28/283	9.9	1/105	1.0	29/1220	2.4	

Table 3.23. Incidence of Plural Absence in SJE for Nouns with Preceding Quantifiers, Measure Nouns and Others.

As these figures show, plural absence is favored by the presence of a quantifier preceding the noun, if the noun is not a measure noun. This qualification must be added, since most of the measure nouns are preceded by quantifiers but they show almost no plural absence. In fact, it seems that in SJE, measure nouns inhibit plural absence; that is, contrary to the effect they have in certain other varieties, this class of nouns seems to favor retention of the plural marker. Thus, with nouns other than measure nouns, a preceding quantifier promotes plural absence, while the presence of a measure noun inhibits this process.

The figures in Table 3.23 are presented by individuals and by age groups so that we can examine plural absence in terms of these characteristics as well. The total figures for each age group (given in the last column on the right) show that the rate of plural absence overall increases with age, from 0.2 to 8.1 percent. The largest increase occurs between speakers under 40 (20-39 years old) at 1.7 percent and speakers over 40 (40-59 years old) at 5.1 percent. The division by age is paralleled by the number of individuals who exhibit some plural absence. For those under 40 years of age, only 4 of the 11 speakers in the sample omitted any plural -Z suffixes. In the group of speakers over 40 years old, however, 9 out of 10 showed some degree of plural absence. As a general principle, then, we can conclude that a SJE speaker over 40 is more likely to omit the -Z marker on some plural nouns than is a speaker under 40.

This characteristic difference in behavior by age group suggests that factors in the Tewa language may be influencing the use of plurals in English, since many of the older speakers learned English as a second language. This fact about the speakers also opens the possibility that a general language learning strategy for English is involved. Reports of the structure of Tewa (Speirs 1966) and other related languages (Merrifield 1959; Trager 1961) do in fact show that the system for reflecting number in nouns is quite different from that of English. A detailed comparison of the two systems is not possible since those who have studied the various Kiowa-Tanoan language in general, and Tewa in particular, do not agree on a way of characterizing the way number is indicated for nouns. From the descriptions presented, it is obviously a fairly complex system. However, on the basis of the information available from these studies and some of the forms of SJE, we can make some observations that would indicate that the Tewa system has an influence on the way plurals are used in SJE.

Number marking in Tewa involves not only the noun but an intricate relationship between the noun, its class, its markings, and the markings on words that accompany it (demonstratives, adjectives, verbs). R. Speirs (1966) observes that "...number... emerges in different ways, depending on the semological class of the noun and the morphemes in syntactic collocation with it." While there appear to be significant differences among analyses of number in the Kiowa-Tanoan languages, all investigators agree that the system is substantially different from that of English. One major difference is that a three-way number distinction is made with categories corresponding to singular, dual, and plural (or one, two, and more than two). The second area of difference lies in the interpretation of these distinctions. From the accounts available, it seems that the concept of set and collection is intricately involved in the assignment and interpretation of number. The same marking can be used on a noun that refers to one and on another noun that refers to two or more than two things (as number would be assigned according to the English view). Considering the interaction with the type of noun and the markers on other parts of the sentence, the first noun might be interpreted as a set of parts, while the second might be a set of entities. A. Speirs (1974) suggests that Tewa has three classes of nouns. The first, nouns referring to animates, carries the set marker in the dual and plural. The other two classes have inanimate referents and, because of the distribution of this set marker, Speirs suggests that "the inanimate aggregates are possibly thought of as 'sets' in the singular/dual and as an 'entity' (collective) in the plural; while the inanimate distributives are thought of as entities in the singular/plural and sets in the dual" (1974:46).

Although the question of how the number marking system operates in Tewa has not been completely resolved as yet, we can see that it utilizes distinctions and categories not found in English. Considering this in conjunction with the facts in Table 3.23, we can speculate that the way number works in Tewa influences the way plural is treated in SJE. It seems likely that the importance of concepts like set or collection to the Tewa system might be indirectly reflected in the use of English plural, although we would not necessarily expect any one-to-one correspondences. The fact that plural absence in SJE is higher when the noun is preceded by a quantifier suggests a possible interpretation of the structure in terms of a set. That is, in a phrase like a lot of kid (102:12), the quantifier could be acting in part as a set marker, which might lessen the need for the plural ending.

A possible counterpart in English to the Tewa distinctions, although by no means a direct parallel, is the mass vs. count distinction for nouns. This is the difference between a noun like chair, which can be counted (4 chairs) and a noun like furniture which cannot be counted without adding a counting unit (4 pieces of furniture). This difference accounts for the use of a plural marker on some chairs but not on some furniture. Because of the influence of the Tewa system, SJE speakers may be making different mass/count assignments for nouns and may allow this assignment to be a variable feature. This would account for much of the plural absence and would explain why plural absence is greater for those nouns preceded by quantifiers (a set interpretation possible).

There is further evidence to support this suggestion in the plural forms observed. As noted above, mass nouns cannot be counted without an intervening unitizer. We would expect, then, that nouns occurring with number quantifiers would be less likely to be part of the mass noun category. Breaking down the groups of quantifiers and measure nouns from Table 3.23, we can examine the effect of a preceding number. (The 'other' category does not contain any number modifiers).

Modifier	Quantifier + Non-Measure Noun Abs/Pot	% Abs	Measure Noun Abs/Pot	% Abs
Number	3/83	3.6	1/78	1.2
Non-Number	25/200	12.5	0/27	0.0

Table 3.24. Incidence of Plural Absence in SJE for Nouns Modified by Numbers and Non-number Quantifiers

According to the figures in Table 3.24, plural absence for nouns preceded by quantifiers is considerably lower with numbers than with non-numbers. Since most plural measure nouns occur with number modifiers (three weeks, four miles and so on), they are prime candidates as count nouns for having the plural marker present. This would explain the extremely low level of plural absence for this category. Since the presence of a number reinforces the 'countability' of a noun, these observations support a relationship between mass/count interpretation of nouns and plural absence.

There are other uses of plural structures in the data from SJE that support this account. Since they are not instances of plural absence, they were not discussed earlier. They do, however, indicate in several ways the variability in mass/count noun categorizations and illustrate further differences between SJE and mainstream varieties of English. First, we observe variation in the use of too much and too many. In mainstream varieties, too/so many occurs with countable nouns and too/so much modifies non-count nouns. In SJE, we find structures like the following in use:

(80) a. too much divorces (103:3)
b. too much big places (119:4)
c. too many modern stuff (105:2)
d. too many fried bread (104:10)

These examples show a different relationship between count/non-count nouns and the modifiers many and much. It would seem that the nouns retain their count/non-count status with respect to the plural marker and the modifiers may be interchanged. (There were, of course, many instances of much and many used as in mainstream varieties.) However, the structure too much accident (116:138) also occurs where it is unclear what the status of the noun is. It may be a count noun with an absent plural marker or the modifier much may indicate that it is being viewed as a non-count noun. In any case, these uses of many and much show variability related to the countability of nouns.

3.2.8.2 Irregular Plural Forms

Variation is also found in the use of the irregular plurals of English, nouns like men, children, and so on. Instances in the data that differ from mainstream English usage include:

(81) a. grand-grand childrens (103:6)
b. 16 or 17 mens (87:4)
c. fishermans (104:6)
d. these two old mans (187:19)

What we find is that the plural marker may be attached to the noun with or without the irregular plural being formed. That is, in the latter two examples, the form mans looks like a regularized plural in place of men. In the first two examples, the regular plural marker has been added to the irregular form, in a sense marking it twice for plural. Irregular plurals (like men and children) resemble in form mass nouns, since they are plural but do not end in the plural suffix, but they differ in that they are countable. This countability may be the underlying cause of the use of the nonstandard form with the plural suffix, when we consider the various departures from the standard pattern relating to mass/count characteristics.

Further evidence for this account comes from the possibility in SJE of treating certain mass nouns as count nouns. The particular nouns so treated that were observed include jewelry, pottery and advice. This usage is illustrated in the following examples:

(82) a. give this couple an advice (80:8)
b. all kinds of advices (80:2)
c. what you use to make a pottery (77:160)
d. my own potteries (129:4)
e. some of the jewelries (176:911)

In each case, the noun appears to relate directly to an aspect of the native culture. In the discussion of 'advice', the term was used repeatedly as a count noun to refer to the giving of advice to a couple prior to marriage. The other two nouns (pottery, jewelry) are important crafts in the San Juan community. All three nouns are as well used frequently with the mass noun status, so there is not a special type of lexical exception operating in these cases. It appears that this is another case of the changeability of mass/count status for noun usage in SJE. A possible further example related to these is piñon, a type of nut that is very popular in that area and much conversation centered around going "piñon picking". This lexical item is a borrowing from Spanish into the English system and, as in the case of many food items, is more well known in certain geographic areas, one of which is the Southwest. The noun is used variously as a mass or count noun in SJE, it appears, since we observe both instances like to pick some piñons (79:8) and we picked some piñon (87:11). Since the mainstream usage (in areas where it is used at all) is as a count noun, this seems to be a case of a count noun being used in some cases as a mass noun. (No tabulations were done, but impressionistically, the count noun usage seems to be much more frequent in the data.) These cases are further confirmation of the variability in mass/count noun classifications in SJE.

Finally, there are two other types of non-mainstream plural usage that we can mention here, although any relation they may have to Tewa or the mass/count question is not at all clear. The first type occurs very frequently in the data and is used by a large number of speakers in the sample of all age groups. It involves adding the plural ending to the construction each other, some instances of which are:

(83) a. They could have separated a little bit, you know, from each others.

b. We kept moving back like that and leaning on each others. (150:18)

The second type of plural usage occurs as well in other non-mainstream varieties (Wolfram and Fasold 1974) making it less likely as a candidate for explanation in terms of the local language background, although it cannot be ruled out. This type involves the plural reflexive pronouns, ourselves and themselves which are found in SJE in a form without the plural ending, as in:

(84) a. all by ourself (105:(040))

b. keep the secrets to themself (94:12)

c. have proved themself a lot better (80:10)

These differences are undoubtedly due to an extension of the count noun concept. In the first case, each others appears to reflect the plurality of the referent, with other allowing the plural ending as it would in other situations. In the second case, the referent is again plural but the form used is singular. This might be a case of change of status to a mass noun, but it seems more likely that it is an instance of more general plural absence. The distinctive characteristic (and the main reason these instances were not included in tabulations of plural absence) is the fact that there is no singular form in mainstream English.

3.2.8.3 The Source of Influence

In summary, the facts of plural usage in SJE indicate some influence from the Tewa language, although the extent and nature of this influence cannot be precisely determined. We have seen that the Tewa system of number marking differs substantially from the English system and the question of countability of a noun appears to be important in assigning status. The incidence of plural absence is much higher among the older SJE speakers, most of whom are also native speakers of Tewa and learned English later. This fact about the speakers coupled with the existence of major differences between the number systems of the two languages would lead one to suspect some influence of Tewa on English usage. When we examine further structures that relate to pluralization in SJE, we find that many of the non-mainstream features involve differing assignments of mass or count status to nouns and reflect a general tendency toward variability in this area. It would appear, then, that source language transfer could be primary influence on plural usage in SJE.

The facts about the speakers who learned English as a second language as well to the possibility of general language learning strategies accounting for the characteristics of SJE plural usage. Plurals in English pose a certain degree of difficulty for both first and second language learners, especially in areas of irregularity such as those discussed above. These would include the irregular plurals (such as men) as well as the lack of countability of mass nouns (in terms of learning the regular set of plural inflections). Studies have shown that language background does not affect the order of acquisition of certain English structures, including plurals (Krashen, Madden and Bailey, 1975). These studies, however, typically refer to a general level of mastery of a structure and not to specific kinds of differences from standard English such as those we have discussed. In fact, most of the speakers in our sample would qualify as having "mastered" the plural, given the 90 percent level criterion often used (those with less than 10 percent plural absence). However, it remains likely that general language strategies are responsible for at least some of the variation from the standard forms of English.

What appears likely as a source explanation for variation in plural usage by SJE is a combination of factors. A simple solution is not expected and was not found. The characteristics of the speakers who have the highest levels of plural absence suggest that the fact that they learned Tewa first and English second plays a role in this usage. General language learning strategies are likely to be responsible for a good deal of the variation since we are dealing with a set of inflectional endings and their irregularities. However, the characteristics of the Tewa language combined with some of the specific instances of nonstandard forms relating to number marking provide evidence that source language transfer also plays a role. The solution, then, would appear to lie in a twofold explanation. Strategies for language learning account for a degree of variability in the area of plurals among the older speakers, which, to some extent, is transferred to the younger speakers who acquire English as a first language. However, within the general variability, the particular area of mass/count distinctions may operate somewhat differently than standard English as a result of influence from the native language. This influence might be quite indirect, but the evidence seems to indicate that it is present. In sum then, we conclude that the way plurals are used in SJE results from the status of English within the community, that it is a second language for a number of people. The influence of this factor shows up both through general acquisition strategies for English and source language transfer.

3.2.8.4 *This + Plural Noun*

There are many examples of the determiner *this* occurring in a plural noun phrase in our SJE sample. This, of course, contrasts with the standard English pattern in which we expect the form *these* in such contexts. We thus get examples such as the following:

(85) a. *this worms*, they get into your body. (82:42)
b. It's about *this Indians*. (110:114)
c. *this* modern *homes*. (113:46)
d. one of *this days*. (106:161)

While this structure is most frequently found in collocation with a plural noun within a noun phrase, it can also occur in absolute position, as in:

(86) Do you have one of *this*? (113:46)

At first glance, it might appear that this structure should be interpreted as a different type of concord relation in SJE between a plural noun and demonstrative. A closer inspection, however, suggests that the majority of such instances should be viewed as lexical merger derived through a phonological process rather than an underlying grammatical difference.

The major phonological difference between *this* [ðis] and *these* [ðiz] is the contrast between the vowel and the voicing of the final consonant. Both of these differences are subject to the operation of particular phonological processes in SJE. The final consonant is subject to the devoicing rule discussed in Section 3.3.2. In the operation of this process, we would certainly expect the final *z* of *these* to be devoided to *s*.

The second process involves the merger of the high front tense vowel [i] of *these* and the high front lax [I] of *this*. It is observed that the relevant source input, Tewa does not maintain a contrast between [i] and [I]. Most typically, [i] was used for both [i] and [I], but there are also cases where [I] was used as a correspondence to standard English [i]. In most cases, the usage was found with particular lexical items. Given such a pattern, it seems most reasonable to suggest that the [I] is used along with the general devoicing of *z* to end up with a pronunciation of *these* that is the same as *this*. The relative closeness of the items subjected to the two different phonological processes simply resulted in a lexical merger. Once the merger took place, it might be maintained even after the phonological processes are no longer productive, although devoicing and vowel neutralization of *i*/*I* are certainly still quite operative processes for many speakers of SJE, particularly the older residents.

A supporting argument for a phonological rather than a grammatical derivation of the *this*/*these* merger comes from our observation of its demonstrative counterpart *that* and *those*. The contrast between *that* and *those* is quite regularly maintained, so that the same speaker who merges *these* with *this* will retain consistently the distinction between *that* and *those*, as exemplified in the following:

(87) a. On *this cars*...I rode *those ones*. (121:92)
b. one of *this days*. (106:161)
c. in *those days*. (106:245)

In the case of *that* and *those*, there are no comparable phonological processes which might operate to merge these forms, as with *this* and *these*. This observation then lends support to the phonological basis of the *this*/*these* merger.[21]

Evidence from the maintenance of the that/those is also important in ruling out the possibility of source language grammatical transfer from Tewa as the basis for this merger. If a grammatical transfer process were primarily responsible for the merger, we would expect it to affect the patterning of that and those as well as this and these.[22]

The merger of this and these, together with the absence of a plural marker on some nouns (cf. Section 3.2.8.1) may result in noun phrases which have an ambiguous number reference in SJE. Sentences (88a,b) appear to be examples of such potential ambiguity.

(88) a. They consult with us what to do about all this gathering. (130:65)

b. ...more people moving because of the new homes; and the only thing I don't like about this move is that our village have just gone down. (130:96)

Given the potential operation of plural absence and this/these merger, these phrases might have either a singular or plural reference. In both of these cases, the reference is apparently plural. In the first sentence, the inclusion of the quantifier all[23] indicates a plural context, while in the second case we have to look at a broader context of the discourse to determine that the speaker is referring to a number of moves which are taking place. In most cases, the surrounding context is quite sufficient to determine whether the phrase is singular or plural.

The merger of this/these is very frequent among the older speakers and there are some speakers who categorically use this in their interviews. For younger speakers, the merger is much more variable but still not uncommon. It is a structure which is apparently being maintained to some extent by the current generation of SJE speakers.

3.2.8.5 Associative Plural

Like some other varieties of English, there exists in SJE a pluralization pattern involving the specification of an individual in coordination with the pronominal form them (usually pronounced an dem).[24]

Occasionally, we also find examples of this type involving those guys. We thus have examples such as the following:

(89) a. When did Sharon and them go to Gallup? (105:5)
b. My Mom and them don't like to stay by theirself. (186:875)
c. Is your Daddy and them playing Sunday? (91:139)
d. Sandra and them gave me two dollars. (105:89)

Typically, the specified individual in the construction is limited to one, but we do have cases where more than one individual is named, as in the following sentences:

(90) a. Ricardo, Lorraine and them are up there. (186:965)
b. We all played baseball, except for Sarah and Joseph and Byron and them. (112:36)

Several aspects of these constructions are of interest to us here. While the construction might be considered to be a close coordinate structure which functions as a type of compound unit, the attachment of suffixes in SJE indicates patterns where both members of the structure may take a suffix. We thus get possessive constructions such as the following:

(91) a. Arnie's and them's band. (85:726)
b. My Uncle Richard's and them's little girl... (141:6)
c. Like here's Carol's house and them's. (116:766)

This pattern fluctuates with the pattern found in other varieties where the affix is attached to the entire coordinate construction such as Theresa and them's cousins (105:27)[25]

As it is used in most varieties of English, the reference group for the pronoun them must include two or more individuals (and typically more). Examples such as those given above usually refer to a group of individuals. However, there are several uses in our corpus which might be interpreted as referring to only one additional person. Thus, an exchange such as the following might be interpreted as referring to one individual in addition to the specified person.

(92) a. First Party: Is Brenda and them going? Brenda and Doris?
Response: Just Brenda. (186:13)
b. My Aunt Margaret and them are gonna baptize my Uncle Richard's and them's little girl. (141:6)

While (92a,b) appear to refer to only one additional individual, it is difficult to redefine the reference point in SJE just on these limited cases. It is possible that the them reference here might also be interpreted as tokens for a larger group. For example, in the first case, it may be that Brenda and Doris are simply a beginning serialization of the members of a group included in the them reference. In the second case, the little girl must be considered a child of Uncle Richard and his wife in a strict sense, but on a social level, she might be considered as the little girl in terms of a more extended family unit. At this point, we cannot conclude if the reference point for associative them can be restricted to one additional individual (resulting in a "dual" interpretation of the construction) in this variety. If this turns out to be the case, it would set it apart from its usage in other varieties of English where our evidence suggests that and them must refer to two or more individuals. Quite clearly, most of our examples refer to a group of individuals rather than an additional individual.

The nature of the reference group and the relation of the specified individual to that group apparently operates in several different ways. In some cases, it may refer to a specifically defined group, as in the following cases:

(93) a. Arnie's and them's band. (85:726)

b. Is your Daddy and them playing Sunday? (91:139)

c. My Mom and them don't like to stay by theirself. (186:875)

In the first case, we have a fairly specifically-defined group of band members and in the second case the reference is made to an organized baseball team on which the subject's father plays. The last example refers to a particular household of individuals who do not like to be left alone in the house. There are also cases where the group is much more loosely defined, so that a reference such as When did Sharon and them go to the store? may be used in connection with a more open-ended group of peer affiliates.

In some instances, the specified individual in the coordinate appears to be someone fulfilling a socially prominent role within the group. Thus, the reference to My Mom and them above, or Uncle Richard's and them's cite individuals who are perceived in some leadership role within the group. In this framework, some individuals would be appropriate for this specification and others would not. For example, it would not appear to appropriate to say something like

My little sister and them don't like to stay by theirself with a reference framework that includes the mother or other perceived head of the household. In fact, a sentence using the specified reference of a sibling rather than a head of the household would probably be interpreted to exclude the head of the household in the group of individuals staying alone. This usage of the form is somewhat analogous to the interpretation of Labov, et al (1968:168) when they maintain that it can be used only with reference to socially prominent members of a peer group.

Prominence in terms of a status relationship does not, however, appear to be the only way in which it can be used, as Labov claims for the Harlem community in which he studied this construction. It also appears to be used with reference to prominence by association with the parties in a conversation, or the entry of individuals within a conversational discourse. Thus, a reference to *Daddy and them* playing baseball on Sunday does not necessarily imply that the party's father plays a leadership role on the baseball team. Rather, his prominence is established on the basis of his relationship to the child being addressed in the interview. Similarly, a reference such as *Are Nancy and them still here* might place Nancy as prominent by virtue of her friendship ties with the addressed participant in the conversation rather than a status relationship. A more extensive investigation might reveal that the notion of conversational and role prominence intersect in ways which will define precisely who can and cannot be the specified individual in the construction.

Impressionistically, it appears that the usage of associative plurals is more prominent in our SJE corpus than we have found in our other studies of non-mainstream varieties of English. It does, however, appear to be subject to age/generational restrictions. It is not nearly as prominent among middle-class and older speakers as it is among the younger speakers and younger adults.

Although the construction *and them* resembles a general plural form found in some English-based creole languages (e.g. Jamican

Creole) it does not seem reasonable to attribute its high frequency in SJE to a Creole or Pidgin-based predecessor. The fact that it is so restricted in the older speakers vis-a-vis the current generation suggests that it is an emerging phenomenon rather than an historical one. The possibility that its high frequency might be indicative of the integration of this form into a unique reference framework within the current SJE social structure might be an interesting speculation, but, at this point, cannot be substantiated.

3.2.8.6 Plural You Guys

The standard English personal pronoun paradigm leaves second person singular (you) and plural (you) forms undistinguished. Various varieties of English, however, have filled out this paradigm in order to mark the plural form distinct from the singular. Forms such as general Southern y'all, Delaware and Susquehana Valley yous or the older form you'ns are utilized to mark this distinction (cf. Kurath 1949: Figure 114). In the emerging variety of SJE, the form typically used to fill out this paradigm is you guys. This form appears to function in ways somewhat parallel to the second person plural forms cited above, as indicated in the following examples:

(94) a. Ee, man, you guys made a lotta noise. (105:289)

b. You guys are going to California, you guys could take these tickets. (182:248)

c. She got scared and she goes, "I'll help you guys pay for it, okay?" (85:422)

Of the other alternatives cited above, we have one instance of yous by a speaker who predominantly uses you guys (Do yous watch any good movies on TV? (141:141)). Quite clearly, you guys is the common plural marker for second person forms to the near exclusion of other alternatives.

The form you guys is not only used with reference to an inclusive group present at the time of address, it can be extended to include others who may not be present at that point, but who are considered a part of some general group. Thus, a question by one of our fieldworkers What did you guys bring? is interpreted by a group of several children to extend to others in their school class as well. The answer to this question refers to people who are not present at the time of address. In fact, *you guys* can be used with a single addressee to refer to some group of which the addressee is a part. We thus have the following sentences which occurred in an interview with a single subject.

(95) First Speaker: They were looking for us, but they didn't find us, cause we were in those weeds.
Second Speaker: Oh, we went clear down that way too, and we didn't see *you guys*. (112:36)

While the reference of *you guys* is always plural (two or more) it is not restricted to those present at the time of address. This is not, however, unlike the uses to which forms such as *y'all* can also be put.[26]

Although *you guys* certainly fulfills many of the same functions as the forms *y'all*, *you'ns*, or *yous*, there is an aspect of informality that may not be found with some of the other forms. Typically, *you guys* is used by younger (say, under 30 years of age) speakers of equivalent status relationship or by adults with children. It does not appear to be used by younger speakers with older ones. Our most frequent context for its usage in SJE is by our younger fieldworkers with children and teenagers.[27] This could be due to an age-grading or the result of its status as a relatively recent innovation. Older dialect geography records give no indication of this form, even though there is evidence that it is now used in areas surveyed in the original *Linguistic Atlas* fieldwork. The age-grading and innovation explanations are not mutually exclusive, so that what we may have here is a more recent form which is age-graded within SJE.

There are no studies of *you guys* in other areas with which to compare its use in SJE, but our informal observations indicate that its usage elsewhere is quite similar to its role in SJE. It appears that *you guys* is much more frequent in Midland (particular northern) areas. In the South, *y'all* is still quite predominant.

Two aspects of *you guys* in SJE merit mention here. First, it is noteworthy that the diffused form in SJE is a midland form which apparently took a southwestern route rather than one of the southern alternatives which might have diffused more directly westward (e.g. from West Texas). Second, we should note that this is a form which is a more recent innovation, relatively speaking. This seems to parallel some of the general trends we observe with respect to diffusion patterns we discuss elsewhere in our study.

3.3 Some Selected Phonological Characteristics of San Juan English

Our discussion of the phonology of SJE is considerably more restricted than our previous description of the grammatical structures of this variety. In fact, it should probably be considered as illustrative rather than descriptively restricted. As indicated in the inventory (cf. Appendix A), there are many areas of phonological divergence which might have been included in our study.

Two structures are chosen here for more complete investigation, and two are for limited presentation. The structures however, have been chosen to reveal insight into the nature of the system and the sources which have resulted in the system. One of the structures, word-final consonant clusters, has been studied widely in non-mainstream varieties and our investigation can shed light on the relation of the phonological system of SJE to other varieties, giving us important insight into the ultimate source of SJE phonology. The other structure chosen for more extended, word-final devoicing, is one which is often cited as a characteristic of Indian English non-mainstream varieties in the Southwest and therefore may give us insight into the potential for common structures among such varieties. In some respects, this feature plays a role comparable to that of unmarked tense in the grammatical system.

The two structures we discuss briefly, contracted negatives and depalatalization, give evidence for a perspective on the more complete SJE system. Both of them demonstrate essential principles in sorting out the nature of phonological divergence in SJE and the most reasonable sources in accountirg for the divergence.

3.3.1 Word-Final Consonant Clusters

Among the most frequently cited variables in current studies of non-mainstream varieties of English is the simplification of word-final consonant clusters. This phenomenon has now been studied in a number of social and ethnic settings (Wolfram, 1969; Fasold 1973; Labov 1973; Guy 1978), and has even been looked at in the context of another American Indian community (Leap 1977). It is therefore instructive to examine this variable in our current corpus as a basis for discovering the similarities and differences in the way this process may function in different varieties of English.

When we speak of consonant cluster simplification or reduction here, we are referring to the absence of a stop consonant such as *t*, *d*, *p*, or *k*, when it follows another consonant at the end of a word. Two basic types of clusters may be affected by this type of reduction. First, there are clusters in which the consonant is an inherent part of the same basic word, such as the *st* of *test*, the *nd* of *hand*, the *kt* of *act*, and so forth. In these cases, the items may be reduced to *tes'*, *han'*, and *ac'* respectively. A second type of cluster results when an *-ed* suffix is added to the base form of a word which ends in a consonant other than *t* or *d*. The addition of the *-ed* suffix usually results in a consonant cluster, and if the preceding segment is voiced (e.g. [rIbd] 'ribbed' [rezd] 'raised', [bimd] 'beamed') and a *t* if the preceding segment is voiceless (e.g. [rIpt] 'ripped', [mIst] 'missed' [kIkt] 'kicked'). In a number of different studies of consonant cluster simplification, it has been observed that the process operates both on clusters formed through the addition of the *-ed* and those which are an inherent part of the base word. A summary of the list of clusters affected by this process in other studies is given in Table 3.25 taken from Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 130).

	Examples	
Phonetic Cluster	Type I	Type II
[st]	test,post, list	missed, messed, dressed
[sp]	wasp, clasp, grasp	
[sk]	desk, risk, mask	
[št]		finished, latched, cashed
[zd]		raised, composed, amazed
[žd]		judged, charged, forged
[ft]	left, craft, cleft	laughted, stuffed, roughed
[vd]		loved, lived, moved
[nd]	mind, find, mound	rained, fanned, canned
[md]		named, foamed, rammed
[ld]	cold, wild, old	called, smelled, killed
[pt]	apt, adept, inept	mapped, stopped, clapped
[kt]	act, contact, expect	looked, cooked, cracked
[bd]		grabbed, lobbed, robbed

Table 3.25. Consonant Clusters in Which the Final Member of the Cluster may be Absent.

Naturally, we cannot simply assume that the simplification process responsible for the absence of final stop consonants in other varieties of English is operative in SJE. Nor can we assume that Type I and Type II absence as delimited in Table 3.25 result from the same process in SJE. As an initial step, however, we can observe that practically all of the types of final-stop absence found in other varieties of English can also be found in our SJE data. In fact, we may set up a list of comparable examples for SJE which parallels the type of list found in Wolfram and Fasold's inventory. This is done in Table 3.26.

SJE Examples

Clusters	Type I	Type II
[st]	res' (105:2) firs' (94:4)	dance'(114:5) dress' (150:19)
[sp]		
[sk]	as' (87:6) as' (103:1)	
[št]		punish'(85:21) finish'(104:1)
[zd]		raise' (87:4) close' (120:3)
[žd]		change' (114:3) charge' (102:2)
[ft]	lef' (116:1) craf' (114:4)	
[vd]		serve' (104:10) liv'(87:2)
[nd]	frien'(104:7) around'(106:3)	turn'(150:22) learn'(106:6)
[md]		inform'(130:2) name'(116:31)
[ld]	chil'(104:7) worl'(114:10)	kill'(114:6) call'(106:2)
[pt]	excep'(116:30) kep'(150:20)	bump'(87:7) stop'(104:9)
[kt]	respec' (104:8) fac'(114:6)	unpack'(85:7) pick(79:8)
[bd]		grab'(80:17) grab'(80:12)

Table 3.26. Examples of Consonant Clusters with Final Member Absent for SJE.

The argument that the forms in Table 3.26 result from a phonological reduction process can only be based on the careful examination of a number of different facts which we will take up in our subsequent discussion. It is sufficient, at this stage, to observe that the absence of final stop consonants following another consonant can be found in SJE and that this surface form parallels that found in other varieties of English (both non-mainstream and mainstream varieties to some extent).

It should be noted that the list of clusters affected by simplification, originally given in Table 3.25, is restricted in several ways. These restrictions are not *ipso facto* the ways in which it can be assumed to operate in SJE. One restriction on the process is found with reference to the final member of the cluster, which is always a stop such as *p*,*t*,*k*, or *d*. Word-final consonant clusters in English are not, however, limited to stops, so we must examine whether such a restriction is appropriate for SJE. There are a number of different cluster combinations which involve final fricatives such as *lf* (e.g. *elf*, *wolf*), *lθ* (e.g. *health*, *wealth*), *nθ* (e.g. *tenth*), *ls* (e.g. *else*, *pulse*), *ks* (e.g. *box*, *fix*), *ns* (e.g. *sense*, *mince*), and some which end in a nasal such as *lm* (e.g. *film*, *elm*). These are not included in the list, and we must ask if there exclusion is appropriate for SJE. As it turns out, these particular combinations are apparently not subject to final consonant absence in SJE. That is, we do not get *el'* for *elf* or *fik* for *fix* as a regular pattern. This is not to say that these clusters are not subject to particular phonological processes, since we do get cases which are at variance with the standard English correspondence (e.g. *elt* for *else* (111:4), *instant* for *instance* (106:248) etc.). However, these final members do not appear subject to a regular pattern like their counterparts found in Table 3.25. As we saw in Section 3.2.8, there are cases of *s* and *z* absence following consonants which are attributable to grammatical processes, but these must be treated quite apart from the phonological processes we are concerned with here. It thus appears that the restriction of simplification to cluster-final stops is empirically justified for SJE.

Another restriction on consonant clusters affected by final stop absence as delimited in Tables 3.25 and 3.26 relates to the constituency of the consonants. As indicated in the inventory, even certain clusters ending in stops are excluded from the application of the simplification process. For example, clusters such as *lp* (e.g. *help*, *gulp*), *lt* (e.g. *belt*, *colt*), *mp* (e.g. *jump*, *ramp*) *ŋk* (e.g. *crank*, *think*) and *nt* (e.g. *count*, *tent*) are not included among the clusters on which the simplification process may operate.[28] Several explanations have been offered in an attempt to capture the regular patterning which excludes these clusters from the simplification process. Wolfram (1969:50) originally suggested that it was due to the fact that these clusters contained a mixed voicing condition. That is, the first member of the cluster was voiced (e.g. l, m,) while the final member was voiceless (t, p or k). All the clusters in Table 3.25 shared the feature of voicing. That is, both members of the cluster were either voiced (eg. nd, zd), or voiceless (e.g. st, kt). Bailey (1973:137) has suggested that the restriction is more reasonably explained in terms of the definition of a cluster. Nasals and a voiceless stop are typically realized phonetically as a nasalized vowel and a stop (e.g. tent is produced as [tẽt]) rather than two true consonants. A similar explanation is offered for l plus a voiceless stop, where l may function more like a vowel. These cases, then, do not constitute true clusters, so the process of simplification does not apply.

In SJE, we observe that final stop absence does not typically affect those clusters eliminated from the list in Tables 3.25 and 3.26. That is, we do not typically get items like jum' for jump, col' for colt, thin' for think and so forth. There is, then, a legitimate basis for saying that another of the restrictions governing final stop deletion in other varieties of English is also appropriate for SJE. This does not necessarily mean that the processes by which the phonetic realizations are arrived at are identical or that there is some type of historical affinity which accounts for this similarity. We will have more to say about this surface similarity when we examine the possible explanations for the observed forms.

3.3.1.1 Variability in Cluster Reduction

Up to this point, we have been content to examine the qualitative aspects of word-final consonant cluster reduction, identifying the types of clusters in which the final member of the cluster may be absent. Studies of this phenomenon, however, have demonstrated that it is quite typically a variable process, which sometimes operates and other times does not. That is, the pronunciation tes' or fin' will fluctuate with the test and find pronunciation in the speech of the same individual. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that we have structured variability, in the sense that some linguistic contexts favor the operation of the process over others. While cluster reduction may be variable in a number of contexts, its relative incidence is regularly greater in some contexts as opposed to others. Several linguistic contexts have been shown to be particularly relevant in their influence on the variability of the reduction process.

One structured effect on the variability of consonant cluster reduction is the following phonological environment. If the following word begins with a consonant (e.g. first person), reduction is much more likely to take place than when the following word begins with a vowel (e.g. first eagle). In both contexts, we might find reduction but it operates at a greater frequency when followed by a consonant. That is, a person who flucturates between the pronunciation of first and firs' before both a consonant and a vowel will typically use more firs' production before a consonant.

Another essential type of constraint found in previous studies relates to the function of the members of the cluster. If the cluster is part of one word base, such as the st of mist or the nd of find, reduction will be more frequent than when it is formed through the addition of a suffix -ed (e.g. [mist] 'missed', [plænd] 'planned'). That is, the cluster in an item like mist will be reduced more frequently than the cluster in an item like missed. This, of course, is the basic distinction between Type I and Type II clusters as specified in Table 3.25.

At this point, we can look at the quantitative aspects of word-final cluster reduction in SJE. In Table 3.27, we have tabulated the incidence of reduction for 20 different speakers of SJE. These speakers are conveniently divided into four different age groups, 10-19, 20-39, 40-59, and above 60 years of age, in order to give some indication of how this absence is distributed among different generations of speakers. A three-part breakdown is made with respect to the following phonological environment, distinguishing a following vowel from a pause (i.e. followed by no immediate segment--either as a slight hesitation before proceeding or the end of an utterance) and a following consonant. Pause is distinguished from a vowel and consonant since previous studies have indicated that the effect of pause is sometimes like a vowel and other times like a consonant (Guy 1974). Its effect may be quite dialect-specific, so that we need to find out how it functions in SJE. In Table 3.27, a breakdown is also made in terms of consonants which are an inherent part of a word base as opposed to those which are formed through the addition of the -ed suffix. The effect of the type of cluster and the following phonological environment on reduction is isolated in Table 3.27.

	Not -ed			-ed Suffix		
Speaker Number	____V Abs/Tot	____// Abs/Tot	____C Abs/Tot	____V Abs/Tot	____// Abs/Tot	____C Abs/Tot
			10-19 Year Old			
85	15/23	5/6	15/20	0/6	--	2/2
116	5/21	4/11	10/12	2/7	1/10	6/8
117	6/13	7/11	19/20	1/8	0/4	6/16
150	8/15	6/8	24/26	1/11	1/3	5/6
120	8/13	4/13	27/29	4/34	0/5	7/9
Total	42/85	26/49	95/107	8/66	2/22	26/41
% Absent	49.4	53.1	90.5	12.1	9.1	63.4
			20-39 Year Old			
94	8/11	11/13	12/13	3/3	--	1/1
105	4/4	1/1	11/12	0/2	--	--
114	9/14	/6	24/27	3/7	1/1	7/7
188	3/11	3/8	9/11	2/8	0/3	6/11
189	4/9	4/6	12/14	2/6	1/3	4/5
Total	28/49	21/34	8/77	10/26	2/7	18/24
% Absent	57.1	61.8	88.3	38.5	28.5	75.0
			40-59 Year Old			
79	6/6	6/6	13/14	0/1	--	2/2
80	15/46	3/8	42/52	7/21	1/8	13/21
130	10/19	3/8	26/27	1/8	3/3	5/8
104	15/20	6/8	17/17	1/3	3/6	12/17
106	22/32	10/10	32/36	8/14	2/3	6/7
Total	68/123	28/40	130/146	17/47	9/19	38/55
% Absent	55.3	70.0	89.0	36.2	47.4	60.0
			60 and Older			
87	8/8	3/3	17/17	4/5	1/1	5/5
127	5/5	1/1	4/4	1/1	1/1	2/2
102	7/10	9/9	6/7	3/4	1/1	3/4
129	3/3	0/1	2/2	1/1	--	--
103	7/8	5/7	19/19	4/5	--	1/1
Total	30/34	18/21	48/49	13/16	3/3	11/12
% Absent	88.2	85.7	98.0	81.3	100.0	91.7

Table 3.27 Word-Final Consonant Cluster Reduction Among Four Age Groups of San Juan English Speakers

Table 3.27 serves as the basis for a number of observations concerning the status of final clusters in SJE. In the first place, we observe that final stop absence is, for practically all groups of speakers, a variable phenomenon, particularly before a vowel or pause. Before consonants, the incidence of final stop absence is extremely high, approaching semi-categoricality in some cases. Pause tends to have an effect much more in line with a following vowel rather than consonant. This appears to be like some varieties of English but unlike other varieties (e.g. Vernacular Black English, Fasold 1972:67) where it tends to function like a consonant.

3.3.1.2 The Convergence of Phonology and Grammar

The effect of the following phonological environment seems to operate both on clusters which are a part of the base word and those formed through the addition of the -ed. At first glance, this may appear to suggest that all cluster-final stop absence may be accounted for as a phonological reduction process, including both -ed formed and non-ed items. Before coming to this conclusion prematurely, however, we must consider our discussion of tense marking in SJE (cf. Section 3.2.1). As we observed, overt tense marking on verb forms is sometimes an optional category for some speakers, particularly those in the middle and older age ranges. Consider an exchange such as the following, where the speaker is a 43 year old lifetime resident of San Juan.

(96) FW: Did everyone in your class speak Indian or just Tewa--English?

SPEAKER: No, I don't think hardly any of the kids speak English at the time when we first started going to school, I believe most of the kids speak Tewa at the time, until we start going to school, and then slowly we learn our English. (106:6)

Quite obviously, there is fluctuation between items overtly marked for past tense and those not marked. As a matter of fact, only one of the items is specifically marked for past tense in (96), even though the standard English correspondence would call for past tense marking in all these cases. Such a fact has obvious implications for our tabulation of potential consonant clusters, since a verb form such as learn in the above example would seem to qualify as a potential consonant cluster on which reduction could operate. But this is only in terms of our expectation from the tense system of standard English. We have no real basis for determining whether a form such as *learn* is the result of a phonological process which reduced an *nd* cluster to *n* or the result of a differing tense marking system which simply does not require tense to be overtly marked here. This, of course, is the difference between a phonological and a grammatical process resulting in the absence of *d* in the potential *nd* formation. While it does not appear that we can specifically determine the type of process which accounts for an individual case such as *learn* in (96), there is some quantitative evidence suggesting that the overall figures for the -*ed* clusters may be the result of convergent grammatical and phonological processes.

To demonstrate how quantitative evidence suggests the convergence of phonological and grammatical processes to account for the actual absence of -*ed*, consider two sets of figures. First, a tabulation is given for all past tense forms which are not formed as a phonological cluster. This includes irregular verb forms such as *go*/*went*, and *bring*/*brought*, simple consonant addition (e.g. *play/playe[d]*, *row/rowe[d]*), and the addition of a syllable [*Id*] (e.g. *wait/wait[Id]* *trade/trade[Id]*. These forms are tabulated in terms of those overtly marked for past tense where the standard English correspondence would call for it. Tense marking for these verb forms is given in terms of summary figures for 20 speakers evenly divided into four age groups, based on our fuller description of tense marking in SJE (Section 3.2.1). These figures of unmarked tense are compared with those forms which result in a cluster when -*ed* is added (i.e. Type II Cluster in Table 3.25). The latter group is differentiated on the basis of a following vowel, pause, and consonant.

Age Group	Verbs Not Ending in a Consonant Cluster	-ed Forms Resulting in a Consonant Cluster		
		__V	__//	__C
	Abs/T	Abs/T	Abs/T	Abs/T
10-19	11/630	8/66	2/22	26/41
% Absent	1.7	12.1	9.1	63.4
20-39	9/133	10/26	2/7	18/24
% Absent	6.8	38.5	28.5	75.0
40-59	73/538	17/47	9/19	38/55
% Absent	13.6	36.2	47.4	60.0
60 and Older	19/115	13/16	3/3	11/12
% Absent	16.5	81.3	100.0	91.7

Table 3.28. Comparison of Unmarked Tense for Verbs Not Ending in a Cluster and Those Ending in a Cluster for Four Age Groups of San Juan English Speakers

Two observations are noteworthy in the above tabulation. First, we find a much higher frequency of absence when the potential form ends in a cluster. If we were dealing with a process derived from a simple grammatical source, we would expect the figures to be approximately the same. But the relative frequency is much higher in the one case. Since a known phonological operation operates in other cases of word-final consonant clusters, it is reasonable to suspect that it is the merging of the phonological and grammatical bases which accounts for this difference.

The second observation supporting the convergent explanation is the systematic difference for the cluster-final stops based solely on the following phonological context. Absence of the tense marking stop in the cluster is regularly favored when the following context is a consonant (cf. Table 3.27). If there were a simple grammatical explanation, we would not expect a systematic difference based on a phonological context in this way. There is no reasonable grammatical basis for maintaining that a past tense form can be expected to occur more frequently when the following segment is a vowel as opposed to a consonant. We conclude, then, that the absence of past tense marking in cases involving a final cluster must appeal to both grammatical and phonological facts. The grammatical basis lies in the different tense marking system of SJE as compared with mainstream varieties of English; the phonological basis is found in a general phonological reduction process which may affect both -ed and non-ed formed clusters. If the grammatical system does not mark past tense then the phonological process will naturally not apply since we do not have a potential cluster; however, even if an -ed form is marked, creating a cluster, the form still may be subject to a phonological process which reduces the form.

3.3.1.3 Heterogeneity in Cluster Reduction

On the basis of our preceding discussion, one might get the impression that the SJE speaking community is fairly homogeneous in the absence of a cluster-final stop. An examination of the different groups on the basis of Table 3.27, however, belies this impression. While the systematic relations between various linguistic environments are the same (i.e. a following non-consonant always favors absence as opposed to a following consonant and base word clusters consistently reveal greater final stop absence than -ed formed clusters), there appear to be important differences as the age groups and some individual speakers are compared. For example, the youngest group reveals reduction in base words in slightly less than half of all cases when followed by a vowel while the oldest group (above 60 years of age) reveals it in almost 90 percent of all cases. Meanwhile, the two intermediate age groups of speakers fall in between these extremes. Perhaps even more important is the discrepancy between the youngest and oldest groups of speakers with respect to -ed formed clusters. In the context of a following non-consonant (vowel and pause), the youngest group indicates absence relatively rarely (approximately one out of every 10 potential cases where it might be absent) whereas the oldest group reveals quite high levels of absence (approximately 8 out of every 10 cases where it might be revealed). Several facts would appear to account for this discrepancy. One fact is the general levelling pattern in the application of the reduction process. Assuming that the oldest speakers represent an earlier time period in the development of SJE, we observe a change toward less incidence of reduction in subsequent generations. After a somewhat drastic drop in the application of the reduction process found between the oldest (above 60) and the next oldest group (40-60), we find a stabilizing pattern. This is particularly true for clusters which are an inherent part of the base word. The drastic differences for clusters formed through -ed addition may be due not only to the levelling of the phonological process, but also to the changing structure of tense marking in SJE. We already saw (cf. Section 3.2.1) that young speakers may differ substantially in the application of overt tense marking, and tend to approximate the standard English system of marking much more closely than their elders. Without the grammatical source to explain some incidence of -ed formed cluster-reduction, we would expect a more substantial reduction in stop-final absence. Thus, the levelling off of the general phonological process and the changing pattern of tense marking in SJE may account for the drastic generational difference in the -ed figures of reduction. Graphically, we may present the differences between age group as follows, differentiating base word and -ed clusters only before the diagnostic environment of a following vowel.

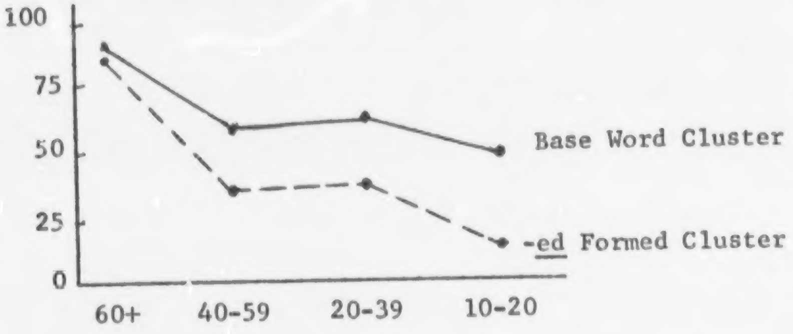


Figure 3.1. Comparison of Four Age Groups of SJE Speakers for Base Word and -ed Cluster Reduction.

Given the relative absence of non-marked past tense forms for the younger generation, the grammatical source for the stop absence in -ed forms is reduced accordingly. In fact, we may cautiously suggest that cluster-final stop absence for -ed forms is almost exclusively a phonological process for the youngest generation, as opposed to both grammatical and phonological sources for some middle-aged and older speakers.

The picture given above shows an apparently earlier version of extensive cluster reduction, attributable to both a grammatical and phonological source. After a fairly drastic change in the application of the process, it stabilized at a substantive level. The current generation of SJE speakers is lowering the application of the reduction process again, but much more moderately.

3.3.1.4 The Source of Reduction

The pattern of cluster reduction across generations as indicated above provides important background for discussing the source of the cluster reduction in SJE. The most apparent explanation for the pattern points to influence from the ancestral language system, Tewa. The basic syllable types of Tewa, as described by Hoijer and Dozier (1949:142) and Speirs (1966:78), generally do not include consonant clusters, the predominant types of syllables being CV and CVC. The system shows further restriction in terms of the type of consonants which can occur as the final C of the syllable. According to Speirs, the final segment is limited to a nasal, glottal stop [ʔ], or h. Quite clearly, clusters like those found in English are not a part of the system. Source language influence, then, certainly must be considered as a primary explanation. The distribution in terms of various generations of speakers would certainly support such a contention. The oldest group of speakers are those whose English would be expected to have the strongest influence from the source language, since Tewa was the dominant language in use. English clearly played a secondary role and was acquired as a second language (or, in some cases, where

Spanish was acquired, a third language). A more functionally bilingual role of Tewa and English in subsequent generations might have reduced the overwhelming influence of the different phonological systems. In the stabilization of SJE as an autonomous system, some influence from Tewa phonology was clearly integrated into the emerging system of SJE. The current generation of SJE speakers continues to show evidence of this historical influence as an ongoing aspect of the system. As Leap suggested (1978:9), such influence can be stabilized to the point where it is not dependent on the condition of bilingualism.

Three different groups might be distinguished on the basis of differing language backgrounds and the way in which cluster reduction might operate. These would be differentiated on the basis of language background, and type and incidence of cluster reduction.

Language Background	Type and Incidence of Reduction
Indian language dominant, English secondary language	Near categorical reduction of both -*ed* and non-*ed* consonant clusters. Strong support from grammatical influence of native language.
Functional bilingualism	Extensive, but variable reduction of both -*ed* and non-*ed* clusters; some support for limited grammatical influence.
English language dominant, Indian language secondary.	Variable reduction of non-*ed* clusters, reduced incidence of -*ed* cluster before vowels. Little or no support for grammatical convergence.

Naturally, the situation is not quite as clear-cut as that given above, and the categorization of language background cannot be rigorously attested in each case. However, the stabilization of the pattern and apparent restructuring of the convergent phonological and grammatical processes to a phonological one is certainly suggested by the distribution of data.

Although we attribute the basic cluster reduction process to native language influence historically, we should hasten to note that such influence does not always involve the simple and direct transfer of structures. For example, direct transfer might predict that a *st* or *pt* cluster would eliminate both members of the clusters since Tewa does not end syllables with either the first or second member of the cluster. Yet an item like *test* will predominantly be realized with *s*, with further change to *h* or total absence incidental (that is *test* as [tɛh], or [tɛ], cf. Appendix A), and a *pt* cluster will practically always retain the *p* (e.g. apt as [æ p] not [æ]). Interestingly enough, such selectivity does not appear to be unique to the SJE adaptation of the English phonological system; speakers of other languages which do not tolerate word-final clusters appear to show a similar type of adaptive mechanism. Thus, speakers of Italian, which does not have clusters in this position, appear to show the same type of selectivity in their production of word-final clusters. Similarly, young children acquiring English phonology as a native language tend to learn the clusters of Table 3.25 considerably later than clusters such as *lt*, *mp*, and so forth. We thus suggest that such selectivity is probably related to the organization of the English phonological system itself rather than the structure of the ancestral system. While we shall not detail the basis for this selectivity here, it is sufficient to note that the simplistic assessment of direct transfer is not warranted. This observation may loom more important when we consider that the SJE pattern of word-final cluster reduction among many speakers shows important similarities with other non-mainstream varieties of English. The distributional evidence from different generations of speakers argues for a line of development and influence originating within the Tewa system. At the most, we would propose that another non-mainstream variety would have a supportive rather than a primary affect. In this case, we would turn to the surrounding community of Hispanic English speakers, since Spanish influence on English appears to be in line with that found here. Spanish, like Tewa, does not permit word-final consonant clusters. Support from Hispanic English, however, would be more likely to add support for the phonological aspects of this process rather than the grammatical basis for some final stop absence, since Spanish has an overtly marked past tense system which is much closer to English than the tense-aspect system of Tewa.

Previous studies of variability in consonant cluster reduction have indicated that the constraints on its relative occurrence can be detailed considerably beyond those delimited here (e.g. Fasold 1972). Although we shall not examine all these further distinctions here, one further constraint will be examined because of its possible relation to the source language syllable structure. As mentioned above, there are no syllable-final clusters in Tewa, only a few restricted set of single consonants which can occur finally. In fact, the one true consonant which can occur finally is the nasal. With this consideration in mind, it may be instructive to delimit nasal + stop clusters and other types of cluster combinations to see if any structured difference is maintained on this basis. This is done in Table 3.29. In order to isolate this constraint, a breakdown is made on the basis of the constraints previously determined as relevant factors affecting the incidence of cluster reduction; namely, a following non-consonant versus consonant and -*ed* versus non-*ed* forms. Scores are given for speakers in the four age groups previously determined.

	Not -*ed*				-*ed*			
	Nasal + Stop		Non-Nasal		Nasal + Stop		Non-Nasal	
Age Group	No Abs/Tot	%	No Abs/Tot	%	No Abs/Tot	%	No Abs/Tot	%
10-19	43/61	70.5	25/73	34.2	3/21	14.2	7/67	10.4
20-39	17/30	56.7	32/53	60.4	4/8	50.0	8/25	32.0
40-59	37/49	75.5	59/114	51.8	10/18	55.6	16/48	33.3
60+	18/21	85.7	30/34	88.2	4/4	100.0	9/10	90.0

Table 3.29. Comparison of Cluster Simplification for Nasal + Voiced Stop Versus Other Clusters.

For at least two of the groups (10-19, 40-59) there appears to be a patterned difference between reduction with a nasal plus stop cluster as opposed to other clusters, most clearly demonstrable before non-*ed* forms followed by a vowel. The lack of a clear-cut distinction on this basis for the oldest group might be explained in terms of the overwhelming dominance of cluster reduction regardless of the environment. At this point, we do not have a clear-cut explanation as to why this constraint does not appear in the tabulation for speakers in the 20-39 year old age group.

Before leaving the constraint of the preceding nasal on the incidence of the reduction process, we should mention the potential interaction of other processes with this one. In our original tabulation of nasal + voiced stop clusters, we considered each case of stop realization of some type as an indication of non-reduction, regardless of the particular realization of the nasal and the stop. But our phonetic transcription reveals that some cases of the nasal segment were realized as a nasalized vowel rather than a vowel plus a nasal segment, and the consonant was sometimes realized a voiceless glottal stop. Thus, some of the cases tabulated as non-reduced are those like around, produced phonetically as [əra^{U}ʔ] (102:3), second as [sɛkInʔ] (104:10) or send [sɛ̃ʔ]. It is questionable, however, whether these cases can be considered as genuine cases which meet our conditions for the application of reduction. If these processes operate before the potential cluster reduction can occur, they would not meet the conditions for cluster reduction (i.e. both members of the cluster are either vocal or voiceless). Devoicing and nasalization are two processes quite operative in SJE, and both have a strong basis for occurring based on the structure of the native language system (cf. Section 3.3.2). If such cases were eliminated from our tabulation, the nasal constraint would be even stronger, and probably revealed for the 20-39 group of speakers as well. However, it would still not explain the difference between this group and the surrounding age groups of speakers.

3.3.1.5 Comparison with Other Varieties of English

We can conclude our discussion of cluster reduction by comparing the incidence of cluster reduction for the different groups of speakers in SJE with reduction in a range of other varieties of English including both representative non-mainstream and mainstream varieties.

Language Variety	Not -*ed*, Followed by Consonant	-*ed*, Followed by Consonant	Not -*ed* Followed by Vowel	-*ed*, Followed by Vowel
	% Simp	% Simp	% Simp	% Simp
Middle Class White Detroit Speech	66	36	12	3
Working Class Black Detroit Speech	97	76	72	34
Working Class White New York City Adolescent Speech	67	23	19	3
Working Class White Adolescent, Rural Georgia-Florida Speech	56	16	25	10
Working Class Black Adolescent Rural Georgia-Florida Speech	88	50	72	36
Southeastern West Virginia Speech	74	67	17	5
Puerto Rico Teens New York City	98	72	63	24
San Juan English				
10-19 Year Old	91	63	49	12
20-39 Year Old	88	75	57	39
40-59 Year Old	89	60	55	36
Above 60	98	92	88	81

Table 3.30 Comparison of Cluster Reduction in Some Other Varieties of English

There are both similarities and differences indicated in Table 3.30 as SJE consonant cluster reduction is compared with other varieties of English. The regularity of the variable constraints and the ordering of constraints with respect to each other is certainly in line with some varieties of English. All variable studies of reduction have indicated that it will operate more frequently when followed by a consonant than when followed by a vowel and more frequently in non-*ed* clusters than in -*ed* clusters. These are, however, explained most reasonably in terms of natural types of processes in LANGUAGE rather than through some type of widespread dialect diffusion. For example, it is a natural phonetic process to simplify a *CC* cluster followed by another *C* since the potential output would be three successive consonants, which is a relatively marked and unnatural sequence. The pressure to reduce a CC cluster followed by a vowel would not be expected to be as strong. Similarly, phonetic segments carrying some grammatical information are less likely to be eliminated than those which do not. While the general effect of these constraints may be expected on the basis of general principles of variability in language, the ordering of these effects with respect to each other may be quite language or dialect specific. SJE aligns itself with those varieties of English, (including middle-class white speech, Appalachian English, etc.) in which the following consonant is a stronger constraint than the grammatical constraint. This may be in line with the fact that the grammatical information carried by the -*ed* is, in some cases, optional within SJE to begin with, so that the absence of grammatical information is minimized vis-a-vis its role in some varieties of English.

The figures also reinforce our previous conclusion that this reduction should be attributed to source language influence rather than any type of diffusion from other non-mainstream varieties of English, since the older group of SJE is statistically quite out of line with other groups. The prominence of absence in -*ed* clusters for this group clearly suggests that SJE did not model itself historically after existing varieties of English in this regard. As mentioned previously, the one possible exception to this is the supportive role that the surrounding Hispanic English Community might have played, but there is no reason to suggest it as any more than secondary support for the indigenous pattern.

Although it is somewhat difficult to compare the analysis undertaken here with Leap's (1977) treatment of cluster simplification in

Isletan English because of a different focus, several observations can be made which go beyond the particular types of analysis. The qualitative facts concerning Isletan English and SJE are more similar than the impression one might get at first glance. The examples Leap (1977:50) gives tend to support the restriction of reduction to those potentially ending in a stop. (e.g. *ns* and *ls* clusters do not reveal final consonant absence while *st* does). Furthermore, a restriction similar to that proposed for *l* plus a voiceless stop (*lp* is the example given) seems to be operative in Isletan English as well. Leap attributes this to the non-consonantal status of *l*, an interpretation which is in line with Bailey's analysis (cf. p. __), and one which would appear preferable in SJE as well, due to the status of *l* in this variety (cf. Appendix A). Leap only mentions the case of *nt* as an example of nasal plus voiceless stop reduction, but absence of the *t* of this case is certainly not out of line with other analysis, as mentioned earlier. For nasal clusters, the crucial cases are *mp* and *ŋk*. If Isletan English regularly reduces an item such as *jump* to *jum'* or *think* to *thin'*, then we would have a significant qualitative difference in SJE and Isletan English, but if they are not regularly reduced it would be quite similar to SJE. Leap's rule (1977:49) applies only to clusters which are voiceless, so it is unclear about the status of a voiced cluster such as the *nd* of *find*. If, however, it were generalized to include clusters which would not undergo the devoicing of final consonants, to allow for cases such as *fin'*, it would match our observations here. The upshot, however, is that there are no serious counterexamples in Leap's treatment to suggest that the reduction affects a set of items substantially different than the type of items affected in SJE.

Although Leap does not examine variable aspects of reduction, we would predict the constraint patterns on variability (assuming, of course, some varability exists) to be similar to those major ones cited above, since we maintain a universal basis for the types of constraints we have examined here (cf. Wolfram 1973:9). For example, we would naturally expect reduction in Isletan English to occur more frequently preceding a consonant than a vowel since there is a natural phonetic basis for such a process. We thus conclude that the facts concerning Isletan English and SJE do not appear to be in serious conflict. This, of course, is not to suggest that there is necessarily some diffusional basis for this similarity. As we have mentioned repeatedly above, such similarities may come about quite independent of each other. Typological similarities of the source language and natural types of adaptive processes of the English language may result in such convergence in social contexts quite independent of each other. Certainly, no case for extensive diffusion among various non-mainstream varieties of English, or particular varieties of Indian English can be maintained on the basis of cluster reduction alone.

3.3.1.6 Final Consonant Clusters and -*es* Suffixes

In most varieties of English, the regular suffix represented in spelling as -*s* or -*es* actually takes several different forms in pronunciation, depending on the final segment of the base word. If the item ends in a voiced segment other than a sibilant (i.e. an *s*-like sound such as *s*, *z*, *sh*, or *zh*), the form of the suffix is produced like a *z*. That is, the plural formation of items like *buds* [bədz], *hams* [hæmz], or *bees* [biz]. If the base word ends in a voiceless segment other than the sibilants, it ends in *s*, thus, items like *kit*, *map*, and *kick* would be *kits* [kIts], *maps* [mæps], and *kicks* [kIks] respectively. When the item ends with a sibilant, however, the plural is formed by adding a vowel before *z*. This gives us items like *buzzes* [bəzIz] for *buzz*, *busses* [bəsIz] for *bus*, *bushes* [bUšIz] for *bush* and so forth. This pattern of alternation between the phonetic forms of the -*s*/-*es* suffix (usually referred to as phonological conditioning) may take place regardless of the grammatical function of the suffix. Accordingly, it includes the -*s*/-*es* on plural forms (e.g. *bushes*, *buses*), possessive forms (e.g. *bush's* [bUšIz] *flowers*, *Rose's* [rozIz] *hair*), and third person, singular present tense verb forms (e.g. *He passes* [pæsIz] *the ball*, *She reaches* [ritšIz] *the top*).

In SJE, words corresponding to the *s* plus stop (*p*, *t*, or *k*) clusters of standard English may take the [Iz] formation, rather than the [s] of standard English. We thus have examples such as (97):

(97) a. I like to go to different feasses [fisIs] (114:101)[29]

b. ...when it comes to tesses [tɛsIs] and like that (187:97)

c. Sometimes he comes and asses [æ sIs] for the money

d. ...priesses [prisIs] mother (118:675)

e. ....with their masses [mæ sIs](81:151)

These examples are best understood in terms of the cluster reduction process we discussed in the previous sections. If we have the elimination of the final stop segment, the form ends in a sibilant. Once it ends in a sibilant, the regular English rule accounts for the particular [Iz] form. For example, if a form such as test is reduced to tes', then the regular English rule would make the plural tesses [t sIz]. The phonetic form of the suffix is related to the reduction process by virtue of applying after the reduction has eliminated a final stop. The phonological basis of this formation is verified by the fact that the [Iz] form may occur regardless of the particular function of the -s/-es suffix, so that the examples given above illustrate this form with a possessive, plural, or third person singular verb form.

The occurrence of this particular form of the suffix does not show any particular generational restriction in our corpus and is found for some older, middle-aged, and younger speakers. It does not, however, appear to occur nearly as frequently as it does in some other varieties of English where it is found. The fact that this production of the -s/-es suffix is found in other varieties of English should not be seen as evidence for a diffusional base for its incidence in SJE. It is best seen as a regular and predicted by-product of the cluster reduction in SJE. We may safely predict that any variety of English which has extensive final cluster reduction can be expected to reveal some incidence of [Iz] formation of this type. Its basis thus lies in the regular phonological conditioning of the English -s/-es suffix as it interacts with cluster reduction, regardless of the source of the cluster reduction.

3.3.1.7 The Underlying Status of Word-Final Clusters

Throughout the previous discussion, we have spoke as if the absence of cluster-final stops in SJE was due to a process which eliminates the final member of the cluster. The fact that such clusters exist in mainstream varieties of English does not, however, serve as sufficient justification for maintaining their existence in another variety of English, whether it be SJE or some other non-mainstream variety of English. In a certain sense, the use of the term simplification or reduction may be seen as a technical label which presupposes that there is a cluster to simplify or reduce. However, we must see if there is any basis within SJE itself which warrants our consideration of these as simplified from a basic cluster within this system. In this framework, an appeal to mainstream varieties of English is not considered a legitimate basis for viewing these clusters as "underlying" each instance where the SJE system has one consonant corresponding to the standard English cluster. The alternative to the position of simplification (i.e. deletion of the final stop member of clusters) is the analysis that SJE simply does not have such clusters as an inherent part of its system. From this perspective, the basic or underlying phonological form of items such as find, test, and fact simply should be fin', tes', and fac' respectively. Since there would be no cluster as a part of the base word, naturally, there could be no actual process of simplification within the SJE system. It should be remembered here that we are viewing SJE as a system in its own right, so that arguments for simplification from other varieties would be ruled out.

Two arguments are relevant to the status of clusters in SJE. First, we must consider the variability of cluster-final stop absence among some speakers. If a speaker produces both tes' and test in approximately the same speech style, it suggests that the base item is formed with a cluster which may be subject to simplification.[30] If it is clearly variable, as it is for most younger and middle-aged speakers, we have a strong argument for a base or underlying cluster and the operation of the simplification process within SJE, whatever its historical origin might have been. This case cannot, however, be argued for a speaker who show the near-categorical absence of the final stop, as several of the speakers in our corpus indicate.

In these cases, another argument becomes relevant. We now may ask what the status of the potential cluster is when a suffix beginning with a vowel is added so that it is no longer word-final. For example, how is a form like test produced when a suffix such as -ing is added?

If, however, a form such as tessing is produced and we have the near-categorical production of tes elsewhere, there is no basis for positing the base form as test. In this case, the base form of the item should probably be considered tes.

An examination of speakers who have the highest incidence of cluster-final stop absence in our corpus suggests that the answer may not be entirely clear-cut. We do have examples where the stop is not present when the suffix is added, such as (98):

(98) a. [tesIn] 'tasting' (103:10)
b. [olIs] 'oldest (87:4)
c. [bIlIn] 'building' (127:2)
d. [cIlrɛn] 'children' (104:3)

On the other hand, we have speakers who produce the forms with a cluster, so that we see examples such as (99):

(99) a. [rostId] 'roasted' (106A:1)
b. [bIldIn] 'building' (87:2)
c. [oldɚ] 'older' (79:3)
d. [ɛkspɛktIn] 'expecting' (104:10)

Furthermore, examples such as (98) and (99) are not even consistent within a particular speaker. Thus, speakers 87 and 104 have items where the cluster is present and those where it is not. We even have fluctuation for the same form within a speaker, so that one speaker (106) gives both [oldɚ] and [olɚ] for 'older' and [bIldIn] and [bIlIn] for 'building'. Observations such as these suggest a somewhat individualistic interpretation.

For speakers who have no evidence of a cluster when the suffix is added and near categorical absence elsewhere, we can suggest that the base form must be one without the final stop. That is, there is no simplification, because there is no evidence supporting clusters within their system. Another alternative is that there are particular items in a speaker's inventory for which the base form does not have a cluster, but that there are other items which do appear to have an underlying cluster. This is probably the most reasonable interpretation for some of the older speakers, since there is usually some fluctuation of this type. Finally, when speakers show clear evidence of the cluster before a suffix but a single consonant elsewhere, the simplification process is most reasonable. Base forms ending in clusters is clearly the predominant pattern for a majority of middle-aged and practically all younger speakers of SJE. We thus conclude that the linguistic process of simplification is clearly justified for the current versions of the variety, although the evidence from some older speakers suggests that this was not always the case.

3.3.2 Devoicing and Glottalization: Syllable - Final d

The production of syllable-final d in words such as bad, wood, and hardly serves as a focal point for two of the most prominently mentioned pronunciation characteristics of the varieties of English spoken by Indians in the Southwest. One characteristic which turns up regularly in references to these varieties is the phenomenon of devoicing. By devoicing here, we mean the use of a voiceless consonant corresponding to a voiced consonant in mainstream varieties of English.[31] Thus, the pronunciation of an item such as good something like goot, job as jop, or leave as leafe exemplify such a correspondence. Typically, the process of devoicing is restricted to stop consonants, such as b, d, and g and fricatives, including z, zh, v, and th (the voiced variant in items such as smooth and breathe). The stops and fricatives are generally united under the more general classification of "obstruents".

The devoicing of obstruents has been mentioned for several different varieties of Indian English in the Southwest with quite different ancestral language sources. Thus, Miller (1977:112) mentions devoicing as a characteristic of the English spoken by the Pima Indians in Arizona and Penfield (1976:30) notes its occurrence for Mohave, Hopi, and Navajo varieties of English in Arizona. Within the Pueblos of New Mexico, Leap (1977:48) describes devoicing as a characteristic of Isletan English and Stout (1979:48) observes it for Keresan English in Santa Ana. The study of devoicing in SJE thus may have eventual implications beyond the description of this particular system, although we most certainly start with a thorough understanding of how devoicing operates within this variety.

Another characteristic often cited as typical of Indian English varieties in the Southwest is the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] (produced by the abrupt closing and release of the vocal bands).

This feature merges with devoicing for syllable-final *d* in that it is the common phonetic realization of syllable-final *d* rather than simply [t]. Although no extensive studies of the glottal stop in other varieties of Indian English have been offered, several different observers have noted that it is a prominent characteristic of Indian English varieties in the Rio Grande. Dubois' impression does not appear uncommon:

> My impression...of some Native American English speakers of New Mexico is that they exhibit, in varying degrees,...extensive use of glottal stops. (1978:3)

Penfield (1977:30) goes beyond the impressionistic observation of this characteristic by documenting its incidence in varieties of English spoken by the Mohave, Hopi, and Navajo of Arizona. As Penfield points out, extended use of the glottal stop has been cited as one of those characteristics uniting a number of varieties of Indian English spoken in the Southwest.

> Another claim [about pronunciation in varieties of Indian English], though not clearly stated in the literature, is that there is a certain "sameness" in the English speech of American Indians. Two hypotheses seem to exist regarding this claim. The first is that the "sameness" is due to the presence of the glottal stop, common in so many Indian languages. Some of the "sameness" in varieties of Indian English is often contributed to the carry-over of this feature. The second hypothesis seems to be that there is a similarity in vocal quality of American Indian speech when speaking English. (1977:27)

The role of the glottal stop, then, may loom central in the ultimate determination of relationships among different varieties of Indian English. While our own study may not resolve immediately some of the more important questions about these relationships, it is essential to start with a clear-cut understanding of how the glottal actually operates in those varieties where it is found. From this perspective, our investigation of glottals for syllable final-*d* in SJE provides us with a first step in any comparison of varieties.

3.3.2.1 The Incidence of Devoicing for d

There are numerous cases in our SJE corpus where a syllable-final d is realized as a glottal stop [ʔ] or [t], with the former being by far the predominant phonetic realization.[32] When we speak of syllable-final d devoicing here, we are limiting ourselves to those cases of d which follow a vowel. In those cases where the d is preceded by a consonant, (e.g. build, find) it is subject to cluster reduction as discussed in Section 3.3.1. This, of course, is a quite different process which results in absence rather than devoicing.

Following are the types of examples relatively common among some speakers in our corpus. In these examples, it may be noted that a preceding r is considered to be a vowel rather than a consonant, since a preliminary investigation indicated that d following r behaves like those cases where d followed a true vowel rather than the cases where it followed a true consonant.

(100) a. [hæʔ] 'had' (79:3)
b. [hɛʔ start] 'headstart' (104:2)
c. [harʔ] 'hard' (130:3)
d. [æʔmInIstrešIn] 'administration' (104:1)
e. [glæʔ li] 'gladly' (102:3)
f. [sɛʔ] 'said' (85:10)

Examples such as those given above indicate that the glottal can be realized regardless of where the corresponding d may occur in the word, as long as it is syllable-final.

While the examples given above define the qualitative dimensions of d devoicing to some extent, they do not indicate the relative frequency with which it occurs for various speakers. This is done in Table 3.31 where the relative frequency of d devoicing is tabulated for 20 speakers. These speakers represent the four age groups differentiated elsewhere in our study. Like other pronunciation variables, it is necessary to distinguish between several relevant phonological contexts which may affect the relative incidence of the form. In our tabulation in Table 3.31 , we distinguish between a following vowel (__V), consonant (___C), and pause (___//). (i.e.

either the end of an utterance or a short, silent hesitation before continuing). In addition to devoicing, we recognize the possible absence of a stop d. Thus, figures are given for both devoicing and absence in relation to the potential number of cases in which d might have been realized in the standard English correspondence.

	___V			___//			___C		
				10-19 Year Old					
Subject No.	No. Dev.	Abs.	T.	No. Dev.	Abs.	T.	No. Dev.	Abs.	T.
85	3	2	14	8	0	11	16	4	26
116	6	0	14	15	1	27	25	7	34
117	2	1	28	6	0	17	14	3	28
120	2	1	26	6	0	22	7	15	38
150	4	0	16	16	1	22	16	7	32
Total	17	4	98	51	2	99	78	36	158
%	17.3	4.1		51.5	2.0		49.4	22.8	
				20-39 Year Old					
94	8	0	16	7	0	7	15	12	29
105	0	0	4	0	0	1	4	2	6
114	0	0	11	0	0	3	2	6	25
188	2	0	15	3	0	13	14	4	34
189	0	0	7	-	-	-	7	8	19
Total	10	0	53	10	0	24	42	32	113
%	18.9	0.0		41.7	0.0		37.2	28.3	
				40-59 Year Old					
79	4	0	6	2	0	3	10	2	15
80	3	0	28	4	0	11	8	2	40
130	12	1	22	5	0	9	31	6	40
104	4	0	20	1	0	10	21	9	40
106	5	0	28	5	0	8	13	9	31
Total	28	1	104	17	0	41	83	28	166
%	26.9	1.0		41.5	0.0		50.0	16.9	
				60 and Older					
127	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	3	8
87	1	0	19	12	0	16	3	9	25
129	-	-	-	1	0	2	2	0	2
102	8	0	12	7	0	11	24	1	33
103	5	0	10	3	0	5	7	6	19
Total	14	0	42	23	0	36	37	19	87
%	33.3	0.0		63.8	0.0		42.5	21.8	

Table 3.31. Devoicing of Syllable-Final d Among Four Age Groups of San Juan English Speakers

A number of observations can be made on the basis of Table 3.31. In the first place, we note that the absence or "deletion" of *d* is a process which is almost totally restricted to the context of a following consonant. None of the groups show any significant incidence of *d* absence when it is followed by a vowel or pause. That is, there is a consonant regularly corresponding to standard English *d* in contexts such as *good egg* or simply *Good*! On the other hand, *d* may be absent when followed by a consonant, as in contexts such as *goo' boy* or *ba' guy*. These instances, however, do not appear to be unique to SJE, and have been explained through as assimilation rule by Bailey (1969). In this process, *t* and *d* can assimilate to a following consonant (*g* or *k*) or a labial consonant (*b* and *p*). This gives forms such as *goob boy* for *good boy*, *bag guy* for *bad guy* and so forth. Once these double consonants occur, they may be reduced to a single consonant giving *goo' boy* and *ba' guy*. This natural assimilation process thus appears to take care of most cases of *d* absence in SJE, although it might be extended somewhat beyond this. For example, it would appear that syllable-final *d* in an unstressed syllable can be deleted regardless of the following consonant (e.g. *fitte' shoes*). This, however, may also be characteristic of casual spoken standard English so that we do not maintain that there is any significant difference in the absence of syllable-final *d* in SJE and its absence in this context in most mainstream varieties of English.

The incidence of devoicing for *d* in SJE is, however, quite different from most mainstream varieties of English. The only case of final *d* devoicing in most mainstream varieties is in an unstressed syllable within a word (e.g. [stupI?] for 'stupid' or [həndrIʔ] for 'hundred') (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:139). SJE has extensive devoicing regardless of the word stress pattern. As seen in Table 3.31 there is some devoicing before a following vowel and extensive devoicing before non-vowels (i.e. a following consonant and pause). The figures would even be higher for the incidence of devoicing if those cases where the *d* was absent because of the prior operation of the assimilation process cited above were eliminated from the tabulation.

The consistently lower frequencies of devoicing before a following vowel may be explained as a possible consequence of syllable restructuring, in which d does not function unambiguously as a syllable-final segment when followed by a vowel. Between vowels, d may behave in a more ambisyllabic fashion. That is, it may serve as the beginning or onset of one syllable while functioning as the offset or end of another syllable. This is particularly true in casual speech, where the d may be rapidly produced so that it is a flap phonetically [ř] rather than a true stop. (e.g., in a phrase such as bad at school the d may be realized as [ř].). The lowered incidence of devoicing in this intervocalic context, then, is probably best explained as a function of the potential indeterminancy of the syllable position of the d. Even with this consideration in mind, we observe that there are speakers who do realize devoicing in this context to some extent.

Table 3.31 shows syllable-final d devoicing to be well-represented throughout the community of SJE speakers; its incidence is well documented among all age groups. Furthermore, it reveals a fairly stable pattern in the levels at which it occurs among the different age groups of speakers when they are considered as a whole. This is not to say, however, that there is a completely homogeneous pattern of devoicing to be found in SJE. We already noted that most speakers restrict the incidence of devoicing before a vowel, but there are individual speakers who have significant levels of devoicing in this context. There is a small group of speakers, more typically those of the older generations, who may have as many as half or two-thirds of all potential cases of d before a vowel devoiced. By the same token, most speakers have substantial occurrence of devoicing before a consonant or a pause, but there is subset of speakers who have only token occurrences of devoicing in this context. Thus, syllable-final d devoicing is a stable pattern across several generations of SJE speakers, but there are individual speakers who do not follow the predominant pattern for one reason or another.

3.3.2.2 Comparison with Other Varieties

The devoicing of syllable-final d (including both the [t] and [ʔ] phonetic realizations) is not a characteristic which is necessarily unique to SJE or other varieties of Indian English. This production is well-documented for other non-mainstream varieties of English as well (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:137). Naturally, this raises the question of how devoicing of syllable-final *d* in SJE compares with that found in those other varieties where it is found. In Table 3.32, we have taken the figures for *d* absence and devoicing for the four age groups of SJE speakers and compared them with three non-Indian varieties for which this phenomenon has been tabulated.[33] These are middle-class white and working-class Black speech from Detroit, and Puerto Rican English as spoken by first generation teenagers in New York City.

In Table 3.32 the incidence of both absence and devoicing for *d* are given. Only two main linguistic contexts are differentiated for our comparison here, a following vowel as opposed to a following non-vowel (i.e. consonant or pause).

	% Absent		% Devoiced		% Non-*d* Realized	
	__V	__Non-V	__V	__Non-V	__V	__Non-V
Middle-Class White Speech: Detroit	1.3	3.7	0.0	0.6	1.3	4.3
Working-Class Black Speech: Detroit	11.5	26.4	8.3	41.0	19.8	67.4
Puerto Rican English - New York City	20.6	57.9	2.6	18.3	23.2	76.2
San Juan English						
10-19 Year Old	4.1	14.8	17.3	50.2	21.4	65.0
20-39 Year Old	0.0	23.4	18.9	38.0	18.9	61.4
40-59 Year Old	1.0	13.5	26.9	48.3	27.9	61.8
Above 60	0.0	15.4	33.3	48.8	33.3	64.2

Table 3.32 Comparison of Consonant Absence and Devoicing for Syllable-Final *d* in Different Varieties of English.

Some interesting similarities and differences among the varieties can be observed on the basis of Table 3.32. Our immediate attention is drawn to the fact that d absence is considerably more typical in the other non-mainstream varieties of English (i.e. Puerto Rican English and Vernacular Black English) than it is in the groups of SJE speakers. This is true for both the following vowel and non-vowel contexts. On the other hand, the frequency of devoicing is typically higher for the SJE groups. Thus, we may say that SJE speakers tend to have more devoicing of syllable-final d than the other non-mainstream groups, whereas the other groups have more d deletion. The total incidence of non-d realization (i.e. either absent or devoiced) is not appreciably different for the non-mainstream groups, but the distribution of the variants used as a correspondence for standard English d is the non-mainstream varieties differs.

When the investigation of glottal usage is extended beyond the simple tabulation for syllable-final d, we find that differences between SJE and other varieties which go beyond the quantitative distributional patterns of the variants found in Table 3.32. The range of contexts for the glottal in SJE extends beyond that found in other non-mainstream varieties. This difference includes the types of consonants to which the glottal may correspond in standard English and the contexts in which it may occur. For example, we have several examples where the glottal is used for a stop other than d or t, as in [træfIʔ] for traffic (131:62) or [layʔ] for like (102:46). While such cases are, admittedly, not frequent and most correspond to k or g, cases of this type are not cited for other non-mainstream varieties of English. In SJE glottal stops may also be used in between two vowels, so that a vowel cluster VV may be restructured as a VʔV sequence. This may take place between words (e.g. [miʔiðɚ] for me either (144:53) or even with certain types of vowel combinations within a word (e.g. [əprIšiʔeʔ] for appreciate (102a:62). This process may also interact with other phonological operations within SJE, such as the nasalization of vowels for nasal segments. We thus have the following types of examples:

(101) a. [gɔ̃ʔə] 'gonna' (85:430)
b. [dɛ̃ʔ ay] 'then I' (144:530)
c. [spɛ̃ʔə] 'spend a' (76:28)

In standard varieties of English, a word beginning with vowel may have a glottal when it is the initial item of an utterance (e.g. [ʔæ pəlz] in Apples are good) but it is typically not realized once the item is no longer initial (e.g. [æ pəl] in pretty apple). In SJE the use of the glottal is not necessarily restricted in this way, and may be used to separate potential vowel clusters whether they are at the beginning of an utterance or not.

We conclude that the use of the glottal in SJE shows qualitative and quantitative differences when compared with those non-mainstream varieties of English which have been studied. Given such observed differences, it seems reasonable to suggest that the correspondence of the glottal for syllable-final d in SJE is probably best attributed to the persistent influence of the source language sound system. As mentioned elsewhere, the glottal is one of the few consonants which can occur syllable-finally in Tewa, and is a very common segment in the phonological system. That its influence would continue to exert itself in SJE, albeit in a somewhat restricted role compared to Tewa, is certainly not surprising.

3.3.2.3 Syllable-Final d and General Obstruent Devoicing

At the beginning of our discussion, we mentioned that syllable-final d might provide us with insight into both the use of the glottal and the more general devoicing pattern in SJE. Up to this point, we have not looked at the relationship that d has with the more general devoicing pattern for obstruents. There are many examples of obstruent devoicing in SJE such as (102):

(102) a. [hæ f] 'have' (130:1)
b. [əpruf] 'approve' (130:2)
c. [klos] 'close' (130:3)
d. [bIk] 'big' (130:3)
e. [vIlItš] 'village' (130A:1)

Any consideration of syllable-final d in terms of the more general process of devoicing must naturally examine its relation to examples such as those presented above. In order to see this relationship, we have tabulated the incidence of general devoicing of obstruents for eight of the speakers included in our tabulation of d devoicing. Two of the five speakers from each of the four age groups were selected for this comparison. For each age group, the speaker with the lowest and the one with the highest overall d devoicing were chosen for this tabulation.[34] This selection will give us some indication whether syllable-final d devoicing correlates with more general obstruent devoicing.

In order to keep our tabulation as comparable as possible, we have tabulated only general obstruent devoicing which takes place in syllable-final position following a vowel. The general devoicing tabulation includes all syllable-final fricatives (e.g. z, zh, v) and stops (g,b) other than d. Furthermore, we have not considered those cases of an obstruent which may involve suffixes added to the base word such as suffixial [z]. The figures for syllable-final d deletion and other types of obstruent devoicing are given in Table 3.33. The total number of potential instances for devoicing includes only those cases where some consonant is still present, so that instances where deletion of d or another consonant may have taken place are not considered in the figures here. Four different phonological contexts are distinguished in our tabulations in Table 3.33: (1) a following vowel (e.g. big egg, bad egg) (2) a following voiced consonant (e.g. live goat, bad goat) (3) a following voiceless consonant (e.g. five kids, bad kids) and (4) a following pause (e.g. alive, bad). These distinctions are similar to our previously-defined contexts for syllable-final d, with the additional distinction of following consonants on the basis of their voicing. It is hypothesized that a following voiceless consonant will favor devoicing over a following voiced one, since this is a natural type of assimilation pattern we might expect in language.

		____V		____C				____//		Total	
				____Vd		____Vl					
Sub		**Dev/T**	**%Dev**	**Dev/T**	**%Dev**	**Dev/T**	**%Dev**	**Dev/T**	**%Dev**	**Dev/T**	**%Dev**
116	d	6/14	42.9	14/15	93.3	11/12	91.7	15/26	57.7	46/67	68.7
	Other Obs.	3/11	27.2	7/20	35.0	4/10	40.0	7/16	43.8	21/57	36.8
120	d	2/25	8.0	5/16	31.3	2/7	28.6	6/22	27.3	15/70	21.4
	Other Obs.	3/32	9.7	4/37	10.8	9/19	47.4	6/21	28.6	22/109	20.2
94	d	8/16	50.0	6/7	85.7	9/10	90.0	7/7	100.0	30/40	75.0
	Other Obs.	2/12	16.7	3/16	18.8	5/7	71.4	3/5	60.0	13/40	32.5
114	d	0/11	0.0	1/10	10.0	1/9	11.1	0/3	0.0	2/33	6.1
	Other Obs.	0/32	0.0	1/28	3.6	3/12	25.0	2/9	22.2	6/81	7.4
130	d	12/21	57.1	21/23	91.3	10/11	90.9	5/9	55.6	48/64	75.0
	Other Obs.	16/35	45.7	12/27	44.4	19/29	65.5	10/12	83.3	57/103	55.3
80	d	3/28	10.7	5/22	22.7	3/16	18.8	4/11	36.4	15/77	19.5
	Other Obs.	1/40	2.5	4/44	9.1	8/33	24.2	4/13	30.8	17/130	13.1
102	d	8/12	66.7	19/24	79.2	6/8	75.0	7/11	63.6	40/55	72.7
	Other Obs.	6/25	24.0	13/38	34.2	14/27	51.9	3/5	60.0	36/95	37.9
87	d	1/19	5.3	2/8	25.0	1/8	12.5	12/16	75.0	16/51	31.4
	Other Obs.	8/30	26.7	5/22	22.7	7/17	41.2	15/18	83.3	35/87	40.2
Total	d	40/146	27.4	73/125	58.4	43/81	53.1	56/105	53.3	212/457	46.4
	Other Obs.	39/217	18.0	49/232	21.1	69/154	44.8	50/99	50.5	207/702	29.5

Table 3.33 Comparison of d devoicing with other Obstruent Devoicing for Eight Representative Speakers of San Juan English

The comparison of general obstruent devoicing with a syllable-final *d* shows both patterns of convergence and divergence. Perhaps the most important structured difference between these phenomena is the effect of the constraints on their variability. Obstruents other than *d* are quite sensitive to whether the following consonant is voiced or voiceless and show the clear effects of an assimilation process. That is, obstruents other than *d* are much more likely to be devoiced if the following consonant is voiceless. On the other hand, syllable-final *d* does not show any sensitivity to the voicing of following segment. In fact, there is more (but not statistically significant) devoicing when the following segment is voiced. Given the difference, we can hardly conclude that syllable-final *d* devoicing is simply part of a more general devoicing pattern. This difference may be due to the fact that the prominent phonetic realization of the *d* is the glottal stop and not simply the voiceless counterpart of the voiced consonant (such as *s* for *z*, *k* for *g*, and so forth). Other studies of glottal stop realization for *d* in different varieties of English (Wolfram 1969:101) have also indicated that it is not sensitive to the voicing of the following consonant. Furthermore, such studies have indicated that *d* devoicing may operate quite independent of other types of devoicing.

The variance between general obstruent devoicing and *d* is also supported by a difference in the effect of the following vowel. There is very little difference between the effect of the following vowel and voiced consonant for general obstruent devoicing, but this effect is quite significant for *d*. We can observe that vowels, which are voiced, typically merge with voiced consonants to restrict devoicing for general obstruents. The crucial influence for general obstruents, then, is the effect of following voicing, whether it be a vowel or consonant. Voicing inhibits the devoicing of general obstruents. On the other hand, the contrast between a vowel and consonant is quite clearly important in restricting the incidence of *d* devoicing. A vowel inhibits the incidence of devoicing as opposed to a voiced or voiceless consonant.

A final difference between *d* and general obstruent devoicing is found in the frequency levels at which these processes operate for some of the speakers represented in Table 3.33. It is observed that those speakers who represent the high frequency levels of *d* devoicing (speakers 116, 94, 130, 102) typically reveal much higher levels of *d* devoicing than general obstruent devoicing. On the other hand, those speakers who have more limited *d* devoicing (Speakers 120, 114, 80, 87) do not indicate appreciable differences between *d* devoicing and general obstruent devoicing. This is illustrated in the differences for these two sets of speakers in Table 3.34.

	High-Level *d* Devoicing Speakers			Low-Level *d* Devoicing Speakers	
	% *d* Dev	% Other Obs Dev		% *d* Dev	% Other Obs Dev
116	68.7	36.8	120	21.4	20.2
94	75.0	32.5	114	6.1	7.4
130	75.0	55.3	80	19.5	13.1
102	72.7	37.9	87	31.4	40.2
Mean %	72.8	40.6		19.6	20.2

Table 3.34. Comparison of *d* Devoicing and General Obstruent Devoicing for High-Level and Low-Level Users of *d* Devoicing.

Obviously, the frequency levels of high-level and low-level *d* devoicing users do not correlate in a parallel way. This is not to say, however, that there is no correlation at all. Generally a higher incidence of general obstruent devoicing will correlate with a higher incidence of *d* devoicing, as indicated in Table 3.35, which gives the rank order of the frequency levels for the eight speakers presented in Table 3.34.

	Syllable-Final d Devoicing Rank Order of Frequency	Other Obstruent Devoicing Rank Order of Frequency
Speaker 130	1.5	1
94	1.5	5
102	3	3
116	4	4
87	5	2
120	6	6
80	7	7
114	8	8

Table 3.35. Rank Order of Eight Speakers in the Frequency-Level of Syllable-Final d and General Obstruent Devoicing

Although there may be occasional exceptions, Table 3.35 illustrates the correlation in the high use of d devoicing and higher obstruent devoicing. We must remember, however, that the frequency distribution is not proportional, since high frequency users of d devoicing will have proportionately less general obstruent devoicing than low frequency users of d devoicing.

We conclude that both obstruent devoicing and syllable-final d devoicing are relatively common for some speakers of SJE but they do not appear to be derived by identical processes. Apparently, the fact that d is predominantly realized as a glottal stop distinguishes it from other types of generalized obstruent devoicing where the corresponding voiceless obstruent is simply realized. There are certainly similarities in the processes, but there are sufficient qualitative and quantitative differences to set them apart.

General obstruent devoicing has already been cited by others as a function of influence from the native language system in SJE. Thus, Speirs (1966:42) cites the use of s for z as an indication of "those who speak English with an accent". Descriptions of Tewa phonology (e.g. Hoijer and Dozier 1949:14, Speirs 1966:78) do not include any voiced obstruents in syllable-final position. By the same token, however, they do not include voiceless obstruents in this position, with the exception of the glottal and [h]. Thus, it is not a simple isomorphic correspondence relationship which accounts for the devoicing phenomena. The voicelessness of the final obstruents must be supported by the naturalness of devoicing in word-final position. There is ample evidence (cf. Schane 1973) that the principles of phonetic naturalness will result in a voiceless rather than a voiced obstruent in this position. Thus, principles of source language influence and general phonetic naturalness would seem to combine as an explanation for the devoicing phenomena observed in SJE.

3.3.2.4 The Extension of Devoicing

In the preceding sections, we limited ourselves to the discussion of devoicing in syllable-final position following a vowel. The effect of devoicing may, however, extend beyond that of a single final obstruent. Under certain conditions, devoicing may characterize a cluster of final consonants as opposed to a single consonant. This is particularly true for clusters involving the addition of the *-s/-es* suffix. For example, we may get combinations of standard English *d* plus *z* or *v* plus *z* which are realized as voiceless clusters in SJE, *ts* and *fs*, respectively. We therefore have examples such as the following:

(103) a. [kIts] 'kids' (130:14)
b. [rɛlətIfs] 'relatives' (130:2)
c. [tra$^{\mathrm{I}}$ps] 'tribes' (129:4)
d. [ra$^{\mathrm{I}}$ts] 'rides' (116:2)

Since all these cases involve the addition of a suffix, we may hypothesize that the final voiced obstruent of the base word is initially devoiced, leaving the final segment of the base word voiceless (e.g. [kId]→[kIt]). Once this has taken place, the regular application of the suffix will automatically attach the [s] rather than the [z] to the voiceless consonant (e.g. [kId]→[kIt] + [s]→[kIts].

In connection with this observation, we note that SJE speakers do not typically have a class of noun and pronoun forms where the final voiceless obstruent of a singular form becomes voiced with the addition of a plural [z]. In standard English, forms such as self, leaf and path voice the final fricative in adding the plural suffix, thus producing forms such as selves [sɛlvz], leaves [livz] and paths [pæðz]. As we might expect, these forms retain their voiceless final segment in SJE pluralization, thus adding [s], so that we get selfs [sɛlfs], leafs [lifs] and paths [pæθs]. Such cases are best viewed as a natural by-product of the final devoicing tendency of SJE.

When an obstruent follows an n or l, we may still get devoicing of the final segment. This particular process may result in verb forms such as (104):

(104) a. [smɛlt] 'smelled' (80:15)
b. [kIlt] 'killed' (144:122)
c. [kɔlt] 'called' (116:591)
d. [fa^{U}nt] 'found' (130:5)
e. [lɜrnt] 'learned' (106:6)

It is observed that forms such as these match other varieties of English where a particular subclass of verbs is subject to devoicing (e.g. Hoard and Sloat 1971:49; Wolfram and Christian 1975:290). For these varieties, the devoicing process is largely restricted to this particular class of verbs. We would suggest, however, that in SJE the devoicing of these verb forms should be related to the more general devoicing process discussed above. Evidence for this interpretation is derived from the fact that this devoicing may follow an n or l when the d is part of a base word as well as a suffix, as in cases such as (105):[35]

(105) a. [ɛnt] 'end' (130:50)
b. [læ nt] 'land' (130:128)
c. [əra^{U}nt] 'around' (103:3)
d. [frɛnt] 'friend' (188:4)
e. [bɔlt] 'bald' (116:22)

Examples such as these suggest that the devoicing following n and l is not restricted to a specific subset of verbs, as is the case for other varieties of English where these verb forms may be found. The devoicing then, may affect the final member of nd and ld clusters regardless of the particular grammatical function of the item and is simply an extended context for devoicing. Naturally, it can only apply to those cases which have not already been subjected to the cluster simplification process we discussed in Section 3.3.1. For some speakers, the prior operation of cluster simplification drastically reduces the number of *nd* and *ld* items on which devoicing may actually occur.

More supporting evidence for the general explanation of the devoicing following *n* and *l* comes from the devoicing affecting *nz* and *lz* clusters. These clusters also may devoice the final segment, giving items, with *ls* and *ns* clusters (e.g. [kɔls] 'calls' [bIls] 'bills'). In the case of *ns* clusters, a *t* is often inserted so that we get an item like *lines* produced as [la^{I}nts] (116:491) or *cousins* as [kəsInts] (133:341). Although the insertion of the *t* is often found as a transition between *ns* clusters in standard English (e.g. [sɛnts] 'sense'), the *t* tends to be produced more forcefully in SJE than is found in other varieties where it is inserted. This may be due to the fact that clusters such as *ts* have significant status within the sound system of Tewa. At any rate, once the final member of the *nz* cluster is devoiced, the *t* may be inserted. Stop insertion of this type is dependent on prior devoicing.

3.3.2.5 Non-Final Devoicing

There occur in SJE some instances of devoicing which do not appear to be either syllable or word-final. One such type of devoicing appears to extend the context of the final devoicing rule so that devoicing is retained when a suffix is added. Thus, the speaker who produces [bIltIŋ] for standard English [bIldIŋ] building (133:110) and [oltɚ] for [oldɚ] *older* appears to have retained a devoicing which originally affected a word-final item (i.e. *build* and *old*). This, however, is not common in our corpus and isolated cases can only be found for several of the middle-aged and older speakers.

A devoicing process somewhat more widespread in SJE involves [z] between vowels, where we may get items such as *cousins* produced as *cou[s]ins* (133:345) corresponding to standard English *cou[z]ins* or *ea[s]ly* (83:148) corresponding to *ea[s]y*. This is somewhat predictable because of the lack of contrast between [s] and [z] in the ancestral language systems; only [s] is given in most phonological descriptions of Tewa (e.g. Hoijer and Dozier 1949; Speirs 1966). The general devoicing process intervocalically is probably the reason that a form such as *house* pluralizes as *hou[s]es* in SJE as opposed to *hou[z]es*. While there are certainly other varieties of English which change the [z] to [s] in pluralizing this form, an explanation in terms of the general devoicing of intervocalic *z* is more consistent with the overall system of SJE than the attribution of this form to diffusion from one of the other varieties of English where it occurs.

There are also occasional cases where voiced stops may be devoiced intervocalically, so that we have instances of *sober* as *so[p]er* (85:221), *eagle* as *ea[k]le* (133:157), and *argue* as *ar[k]ue* (85:188). Examples such as these are not as explainable in terms of the ancestral language, since all evidence indicates a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops in these types of phonological contexts (e.g. [b] and [p], [g] and [k]). Examples such as these are, however, relatively infrequent and only found in older speakers. No apparent explanation for these realizations can be offered at this point.

3.3.2.6 Vowel Devoicing

Not all devoicing in SJE is restricted to the consonants. Under certain conditions it is also possible to get cases in which a vowel may be voiceless. If a vowel is in a relatively unstressed syllable and surrounded by voiceless consonants it may become voiceless, thus making the entire syllable voiceless. We thus have examples such as the following where the subscript under the vowel indicates that it is voiceless:

(106) a. [səpstɨ̥tuts] 'substitutes' (146:22)
b. [plesɨ̥s] 'places' (103A:56)
c. [Intɨ̥temInt] 'entertainment' (99A:96)
d. [kæ pə̥tɨ̥] 'capitol' (103A:49)
e. [grosr̥ɨ̥s] 'groceries' (130:3)

In examples such as those above, it is noted that the determining environment for vowel devoicing is formed only after the prior operation of consonant devoicing (e.g. a [z] to [s] devoicing of an r following a voiceless consonant becoming voiceless). The devoicing of a vowel which is the "peak" or nucleus of the syllable results in a totally voiceless syllable since the surrounding consonants are also voiceless. Although this phenomenon is not particularly frequent, it does characterize some individuals, particularly middle-aged and older speakers.

It is interesting to note that vowels in Tewa may apparently be realized phonetically as voiceless under certain conditions. Hoijer and Dozier (1949:143) thus observe:

> Weak syllables, on the other hand, have no discernible pitch accent but are markedly less stressed than pitch-accented syllables and, in rapid speech, may even be whispered. ...Weak syllables never occur as free forms and usually are found at the ends of utterances.

Speirs (1966:50) describes a voiceless vowel offglide (i.e. a vowel or [h] following a regularly voiced vowel peak) for Tewa rather than a voiceless vowel per se, but notes that the degree of voicelessness may "range from zero to quite pronounced". He further notes that "it may occur preceding voiceless stops and affricates, sibilants, and velar fricatives." Quite obviously, there are certain similarities in Tewa vowel devoicing and the conditions we specified for vowel devoicing in SJE, such as the lack of stress and voiceless consonants following the vowel. The overlay of Tewa system, then, seems apparent, although the manifestation of voicelessness in this context also appears to be a natural context for vowel devoicing.

A type of voiceless offglide something like that described for Tewa by Speirs can also be found for some speakers of SJE, particularly at the end of an utterance. In some cases, the vowel may simply fade into voicelessness, so that baby might be realized as baby[h] or ready as ready[h]. In other cases, this voiceless offglide is prominent as a correspondence of a final consonantal segment in standard English, particularly l and the nasals. This results in the production of an item like school something like schoo[h] or mine as mi[h].

As we have seen in the above presentation, there are a number of ways in which this characteristic is manifested in SJE. Some of these are shared with other varieties of English, but some are apparently peculiar to this system, and are attributable to source language influence.

3.3.3 Depalatalization and Delabialization

In standard English, there are a number of consonants which release into a palatal glide before an ensuing vowel segment. Phonetically, this palatal glide appears to function as a type of transition between the consonant and vowel segment. (In our treatment, we shall represent this palatal as [y] phonetically, with its transitional status indicated by raising it above the line.) In terms of the phonological system, there is some question whether the palatal should be considered as a release of the consonant, an onset to the vowel, or a unit which has segmental status in its own right. Although the palatal glide shows some sensitivity to dialect variation within standard varieties of English, it typically can follow several different types of consonants, including nasals (e.g. m), fricatives (e.g. f) and stops (e.g. k). It also occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables. The following examples represent some of the typical cases found across various standard English varieties.

Stressed Syllables	Unstressed Syllables
Phonetic Representation	Phonetic Representation
[f^{y}u] 'few'	[rɛ́g^{y}əlɚ] 'regular'
[p^{y}upʊl] 'pupil'	[ǽmb^{y}əlɪns] 'ambulance'
[k^{y}ub] 'cube'	[mɪ́l^{y}ən] 'million'
[v^{y}u] 'view'	[ǰún^{y}ɚ] 'junior'
[b^{y}uɾi] 'beauty'	[páp^{y}əlɚ] 'popular'

While the palatal [y] may be preceded by a range of consonants (but not all), the above list indicates that it is quite restricted in terms of the following vowels with which it is permissible. In stressed syllables, it is typically restricted to [u] (as in boot); in unstressed syllables, it typically occurs with a more neutral vowel such as the schwa [ə] (as in but) or [I] (as in bit).

In SJE, the glide [y] is quite often absent in unstressed syllables, regardless of the preceding consonant. We thus get examples such as (107):

(107) a. [æmbəlIns] 'ambulance' (83:167)
b. [mIlIn] 'million' (100:64)
c. [junɚ] 'junior] 121:28
d. [fIgɚs] 'figures' 149:67)
e. [papəlɚ] 'popular'

Depalatalization in unstressed syllables is found to some extent in other non-mainstream varieties of English, but these varieties typically restrict the depalatalization to the stop consonants such as p, g, b and so forth. In SJE, its effect is somewhat more general, extending to other classes of consonants such as l and n.

Much less frequently, depalatalization may be found in the context of a stressed syllable, so that we have several examples of items such as music produced as [muzIk] (116:150; 119:184) rather than [m^yuzIk]. Depalatalization in stressed syllables is not nearly as typical of other non-mainstream varieties, particularly with consonants such as m.[36] Its occurrence in SJE is only represented by a few examples, so we conclude it is a very limited process in stressed syllables.

There are several apparent explanations for the existence of depalatalization in SJE. One possible source is the indigenous native language, which does not typically exhibit palatalized consonants. Outside of Hoijer and Dozier's (1949:140) citation of an isolated case of $\underline{t}^y$, there is no mention of palatalization in the native language system. The influence of this system could certainly be transferred to the emerging English system, as we have found for some other aspects of SJE phonology. We naturally expect this influence more widely represented in unstressed syllables than in stressed syllables, where such a process would likely to be more disruptive on the English phonological system and be more socially obtrusive.

Depalatalization of the type described here might also be expected as a natural type of change occurring in language regardless of the source language, since it involves the simplification of a phonetic transition between a consonant and a vowel. The naturalness of depalatalizing a transition between a consonant and vowel is particularly plausible in unstressed syllables, where the following vowel is not a high back vowel. The naturalness of the change is supported by two observations. First we find some incidence of depalatalization in unstressed syllables in the most rapid, informal speech styles of standard English speakers, a prime context for natural changes to be manifested. Second, we find its incidence in other non-mainstream varieties, where natural changes tend to be more advanced than they are in standard varieties due to the relative absence of social constraints favoring some of the more marked phonetic productions of standard varieties. Thus, we find the naturalness of the process a supportive factor in explaining depalatalization. We posit, then, that there are convergent sources which may ultimately account for the occurrence and maintenance of depalatalization in SJE.

Support for convergent explanation of depalatalization vis-a-vis the unique explanation of source language transfer is found by analogy with the process of delabialization. Labialization is like palatalization in that it involves a transitional glide between a consonant and a vowel. In this case, it is the labial glide represented by w, as found in words such as quick [k^{w}Ik] or quilt [k^{w}Ilt]. Unlike palatalization, however, labialization has a clear parallel in the native language system, particularly occurring with k as it does in English (cf. Speirs 1966:45). Based simply on influence from Tewa, then, we would expect the k^{w} sequences of English to be retained as labialized in SJE. For the most part, this is true, but we do have occasional cases in which delabialization (i.e. the absence of the w glide) takes place. We have sporadic examples such as [ikIlz] (78:41) corresponding to standard English [ik^{w}Ilz] equals and [ba^{I}lIngəl] (102:159) corresponding to standard English [ba^{I}lIng^{w}əl] bilingual. These cases are not attributable to direct influence from the Tewa phonological system.

since labialized velar consonants are not at all uncommon in Tewa. We suggest that these occasional examples represent a generalized adaptive process on the English sound system which simplifies the consonant-vowel transition. We would certainly expect such cases to be much less frequent than those of depalatalization, where the native language and generalized nature of change might produce a common result, and this is borne out by the prominence of depalatalization over delabialization in SJE. The occasional cases of delabialization, by analogy, give supportive evidence for maintaining that it is more than simple source language transfer which helps account for the incidence of depalatalization in SJE.

A process which is related to some extent to depalatalization involves the elimination of an entire iy sequence when it is followed by a vowel. Thus, we may get Indian produced as [IndIn] (83:157) rather than [IndiyIn] (or, in more rapid style] [Ind^{y}In]) or experience produced something like [ɛkspIrIns] (76:370) rather than [ɛkspIrIyɛns]. Two conditions govern the operation of this process. First, the syllable must be unstressed. There are no cases of this reduction when the iy sequence is stressed. This is a general condition which governs practically all syllable e limination in SJE, as in other varieties of English. Second, the vowel following the iy is typically a front vowel, close in quality to the iy segment. In fact, it appears that the resultant realization as one syllable should be considered more as a coalescence of the two syllables than an absolute elimination of one syllable while the other is retained.

Not all sequences of iy and a following front vowel are realized by the type of reduction discussed above. It is also possible to retain the distinct vowels in the cluster by the insertion of a glottal stop. We thus get forms such as appreciate as [əprIši?et] (102A:63) vis-a-vis the more standard production as [əprIšiyet]. The insertion of the glottal is not restricted to sequences within a word. It can also be found between a word which ends in a vowel and following word which begins with a vowel. We thus get forms such as [mi?ɩ́ðɚ] (144:530) rather than [miyɩ́ðɚ] for me either. While standard English often uses a glottal before a word beginning in a vowel, regular casual conversation is typified by elision rather than the insertion of a glottal. For the glottal to be inserted the following vowel must receive some degree of stress (i.e. it cannot be totally unstressed). Although the coalesence or elimination of the syllables and the insertion of a glottal are quite different processes, they are unified by a general SJE intolerance of syllable reduction of the type typical of standard English. The options are to retain prominently distinct syllables or to eliminate the unstressed syllable completely. While one structure such as that discussed above, may not, in itself, set apart SJE from other varieties of English, the more general application of this principle certainly sets apart SJE from some other varieties of English, both mainstream and non-mainstream.

3.3.4 Contracted Negatives

Practically all varieties of English have a contraction process in which a negative element can be attached to a verbal auxiliary. This includes the modals couldn't, wouldn't, and shouldn't, forms of do such as doesn't and didn't, and be and have forms such as isn't, wasn't, hasn't, haven't, and so forth. Although contraction is common to all varieties, the actual pronunciation of these contracted forms (particularly when the resultant contracted form is two syllables) varies considerably. For example, an item such as couldn't might be pronounced something like couldint [kUdInt], couldnt [kUdn̩t], coultnt [kUt˺n̩t], or coulnt [kUnt].[37] Some varieties appear to fluctuate between practically all of these varying pronunciations (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:138), while other varieties may be restricted in their usage. Quite typically, descriptions of these varying forms treat them as related to each other in that one particular form might be seen to be derived from another form through an orderly progression of processes (cf. Wolfram and Christian 1976:59-60). For example, the basic step in the initial contraction process of could + not gives a form such as couldint [kUdInt]. This particular pronunciation, however, is seldom heard in informal speech styles, even though it might be the prescribed standard English form. Once the basic contraction process has taken place, it is quite typical to reduce the vowel of the second syllable to the point that it is replaced by a nasal serving as the syllabic peak of that syllable, the syllabic nasal. This gives us a form such as couldnt [kUdn̩t]. Once this process has taken place, a process may operate on the d preceding the syllabic nasal, in which the d is devoiced to a t or glottal stop ʔ . This gives us a form such as coultnt [kUtn̩t] or [kUʔn̩t]. A further process might operate to remove a consonant before a syllabic nasal, giving us a form such as coulnt [kUnt]. In this case, the loss of a consonant preceding the syllabic nasal causes the nasal to lose its syllabic beat, resulting now in a reduction in the number of syllables from two to one. The series of processes might be summarized something like below:

Process	Examples	
	could+not	did+not
1. Basic negative contraction	[kUdInt]	[dIdInt]
2. Unstressed vowel reduction	[kUdənt]	[dIdənt]
3. Syllabification of Nasal	[kUdn̩t]	[dIdn̩t]
4. Consonant devoicing	[kUtn̩t]	[dItn̩t]
5. Removal of stop before nasal	[kUnt]	[dInt]

While there are more technical details that a finer analysis would have to involve, these steps summarize the way in which these processes have been related to each other. Most standard varieties of English tend to use Step 3 in informal speech, with various other varieties of English (some regionally defined and others socially defined) ranging from 3 through 5 in this series.

In SJE, the dominant, if not exclusive form, in this series is 5. We find numerous examples such as (108):

(108): a. ...but he coulnt [kUnt]. (120:28)
b. ...one dint [dInt] like her. (116:6)
c. ...they coulnt [kUnt] still make it. (116:22)
d. ...some people dint [dint]. (130:3)
e. ...the cars woulnt [wUnt] start. (130:3)

Forms like those cited above (i.e. step 5) appear to be considerably more extensive in SJE than in other regional and ethnic varieties described in the literature. Forms like those in 3 and 4 are virtually non-existent in our data, unlike many other nonmainstream varieties of English which fluctuate between 3,4, and 5. That form 4 is not found is particularly noteworthy since devoicing is so prominent in other aspects of SJE. Most varieties which have a c onsiderable amount of syllable-final d devoicing, such as SJE, will reveal devoicing in these contracted negative forms as well (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:138).

The overwhelming prominence of forms like 5 in SJE is most reasonably explained in terms of the general absence of syllabic nasals in this variety. Syllabic nasals generally do not occur in this variety, a fact which sets this variety apart from other non-mainstream and mainstream varieties of English. Since forms 3 and 4 both involve syllabic nasals, it stands to reason that these forms would not be expected in SJE. Accordingly, the options for the realization of contracted negatives include a full vowel (1) in a two syllable contraction or a restructuring into a one syllable contraction (5). When the auxiliary to which the negative is attached ends in a d, as in the sentences cited above, the syllable restructuring is clearly the preferred option.

When the form of a negativizied auxiliary ends in a fricative, sounds such as s, z, or v, it is the two syllable, full vowel form which appears to be the typical realization. We thus get forms like (109):

(109). a. He wasn't (wəzInt] alive that long. (94:7)
b. I haven't [hæ vIn] heard him talk. (94:6)
c. No he didn't [dIdIn] (184:495)

With preceding fricatives, most varieties of English have the option of using a syllabic nasal, just as they do with a preceding d giving forms like wasnt [wəzn̩t], havent [hæ vn̩t], hasnt [hæ zn̩t], or isnt [Izn̩t]. In these cases, SJE avoids the syllabic nasal by maintaining a full vowel in the second syllable much like the prescribed standard English form. Rather than view this as a function of maintaining a formal standard English form, however, it is most consistently viewed as a function of SJE's strategy for dealing with the syllabic nasals found in so many other varieties of English.

The fact that SJE so strongly resists the syllabic nasal suggests that the series of related processes which lead from a two syllable contracted form through a syllabic nasal to a loss of the consonant preceding the nasal and a subsequent monosyllabic form is not appropriate for SJE. While the related series of processes suggested earlier might be quite appropriate for other varieties of English, the absence of the nasal syllabification process in SJE makes it difficult to justify in this case. Thus, while the SJE production of these forms appears, at first glance, to fit in line with the processes operative in other varieties of English, our closer inspection reveals that we must look for a different explanation.

As it turns out, the coalescence of two syllable sequences where the second syllable is a syllabic consonant is found to some extent in items other than negative contraction. It can also be documented for laterals which function syllabically in other varieties of English. For example, consider items such as *little*, which is typically produced in other varieties with a syllable *l* (something like *lidl* [lIdl̩] or *totally*, which is produced something like *totli* [todl̩i]). In cases such as these, we have found the following productions.

(110). a. [toli] 'totally' (114:119)
b. [lIl] 'little' (94:328)

Notice that the consonant preceding the syllabic *l* is removed so that the *l* no longer is syllabic. In the case of *little* the *l* is now the final segment of a one syllable item whereas in the case of *totally* it may be seen as the first consonant of the *ly* [li] syllable. Cases such as these reinforce our conclusion that we are dealing with a reinterpretation of syllables in SJE due to the absence of syllabic consonants in the variety. Given the lack of syllabic consonants, the option is to produce a syllable with a full vowel as the peak of the syllable or to restructure the nature of a syllable sequence by reducing the number of syllables. The option chosen is dependent to some extent on the nature of the preceding consonant (e.g. *d* is open to reinterpretation whereas fricatives are not), and perhaps to the nature of the basic vowel in the syllable that may be processed to a syllabic consonant in other varieties of English.

3.4 Conclusion

The preceding description has given us an opportunity to see how one representative variety of Indian English has molded its present English language system. While there are many aspects of this system which are shared with other varieties of English, we have focused on those aspects which might set it apart from the idealized reference point of standard English. We were particularly interested in gaining insight into the dynamics of this system as a developing linguistic code, so that there were a number of recurring issues considered with the particular linguistic structure we were describing. We can now generalize some of our conclusions with respect to the prominent issues considered in our treatment of specific structures.

3.4.1 The Source of Development

At the beginning of this chapter, we outlined at least three possible sources which may have resulted in the observed divergence in what we have called SJE: (1) source language transfer; (2) target language adaptation and (3) diffusion from other non-mainstream varieties. We have seen that all three sources have been active in the developing variety(s) of English at various points in the system, but there are a number of qualifications that must be made in this respect.

There were a number of items which were most reasonably seen to be the result of source language transfer, but most cases were not straightforward. For the most part, source language transfer is more readily apparent in phonological divergence than grammatical divergence, since there are many instances in which grammatical transfer might just as easily be explained as a product of generalized language adaptation strategies. However, there seem to be some grammatical cases where the most acceptable explanation includes the source language structure. Thus, we might explain certain aspects of tense unmarking in terms of a generalized acquisitional strategy but the consideration of its particular manifestation in SJE is also consonant with the structure of the source language system. We must note, however, that it is difficult to identify grammatical structures which can be uniquely attributed to source language transfer. This does not mean that such could not exist, but it does caution against the ready explanation of English structures in Indian varieties to the ancestral language heritage. Clearly, such cases cannot be set forth without first eliminating the possibility of generalized strategies involved in target language adaptation. Our general impression is that SJE probably manifests more grammatical divergence attributable to the general acquisitional process than divergence due to a unique relationship with its ancestral source language, although there are certainly aspects of both which have contributed to the contemporary code.

Direct language transfer is more observable in the phonological system of SJE, although here also we cannot rule out convergence with some generalized language processes related historically to the fact that English was learned as a second language. In the phonological divergence of SJE, some features which, on first glance, might appear to be like those found in other non-mainstream varieties of English, actually are more reasonably explained as the result of the source language phonological system. For example, the particular pronunciation of the contracted negative appears to be like those found in a number of other varieties of English, but the absence of some of the intervening stages in the process suggest that the similar surface manifestation actually comes from a different source.

The diffusional source for divergent structures has also been evidenced in SJE, but several important qualifications need to be made in this regard. First of all, diffusion from Anglo-based varieties of English is much more limited among the older generation than the younger one, indicating one of the important dimensions of generational differences. And, the lexical evidence indicates that it is a midland variety which took a southwestern route in its diffusion pattern rather than a southern variety which took a westward route. Furthermore, we must note that diffusion does not only take place from Anglo non-mainstream varieties; there is also evidence for diffusion from surrounding Spanish-influenced varieties, which does not show the same type of generational distribution found in diffusion from Anglo varieties. Finally, we must mention that there are structures in which a diffusional source may merge with a generalized acquisitional source and even a language transfer source to result in the same form.

The upshot, then, is that all three sources must be appealed to in accounting for the resultant structure of the varieties of SJE. There are, of course, differences in the prominence with which these sources may be manifested, depending on the age of the speakers, their language history in terms of first and second language acquisition, and the level of language organization involved. Thus, diffusion from Anglo non-mainstream varieties is more evidenced in younger speakers and most prominently revealed in particular lexical items or restricted structural sets, while generalized language acquisition strategies are most often found in the grammatical systems of older speakers. The complex picture of source influence is highly sensitive to a number of different variables related to sociolinguistic context of the community.

3.4.2 The Generation Factor

Due to the particular sociolinguistic situation which exists in San Juan, we have constantly had to refer to the variable of age in our description of particular linguistic structures. The correlation of language differences with age is not typically a reflection of age-grading within the life cycle of a speaker, but a manifestation of the generational differences related to language change. The older speakers indicate the most divergence, and these are the speakers for whom English was clearly learned as a second (and, in most cases, a secondary) language. Middle-aged speakers represent a transitional group, while younger speakers represent a group for whom English was the first language. This situation is clearly manifested in the kind and extent of language divergence. Older and middle-aged speakers are more divergent, but they are also more heterogeneous in their divergence. That is, there is more difference from speaker to speaker, and they are more likely to differ among some of the structures used. This is certainly not an atypical pattern where English is learned as a second language. Younger speakers have clearly leveled off some of the divergence, carving out for themselves a level of divergence between that of the older generation and that of the surrounding non-mainstream varieties. There is considerably more homogeneity from speaker to speaker among the younger generation.

To say that a leveling process has taken place does not mean that the younger generation is in total conformity with surrounding varieties. We presented evidence that this is not the case, so that we do find the maintenance of a variety which might still uniquely distinguish SJE. Of course, our study has shown that it is not really feasible to speak of SJE as if it were one entity. While there may be a common core of structures found in this variety as compared with some other varieties which have been studied, there is certainly a continuum of varieties to be found even within this one community. Probably the most essential factors related to the differences within SJE are variables such as the order of language acquisition and the extent of exposure to English, the age of the speaker, and the orientation toward traditional community values.

One of the most interesting discoveries in our age distribution was the fact that older speakers, despite their divergence in terms of some aspects of linguistic structure, tended to follow certain prescriptive norms with respect to socially stigmatized stereotypes. The younger speakers, on the other hand, were less inclined to avoid such stigmatized variants. This was particularly true where the stigmatized forms consisted of restricted sets of lexical items. We attributed this particular distribution to two factors, one being the context in which English was learned by the older generation (the school setting) and the other the possible transference of any indigenous prescriptive norm to the emerging English variety.

There are, then, some fairly obvious reasons, and, some more subtle reasons why the age variable turned out to be so important in this study. Aspects of this distribution would certainly be expected in other language situations comparable to this one, but there are also dimensions of this pattern which may relate to the particular sociolinguistic structure of this community. Both general and specific sociolinguistic factors have resulted in the current language pattern for the different ages.

3.4.3 San Juan English and Other Non-Mainstream Varieties of English

At various points in our description, we compared the structures of SJE with those found in other non-mainstream varieties of English which have been described. We have seen that there are a number of similarities between these varieties, but it is certainly inappropriate to consider SJE as totally confined to those structures found in other non-mainstream varieties.

As mentioned previously, some structures may appear, at first glance, to be quite comparable to structures described for other varieties, but closer inspection often belies this initial observation. This is particularly true for those structures found for some of the older speakers, but also found to some extent in those structures still manifested by younger speakers. If nothing else, the particular co-occurrence of divergent structures found in SJE does not appear to match those described for other non-mainstream varieties. As previously observed, there is a peculiar combination of some fairly divergent structures in SJE along with a regard for certain prescriptive norms. This pattern of co-occurrence is certainly different from those descriptions of non-mainstream varieties of English available.

There are, of course, structures which appear to be quite similar to those found in other non-mainstream varieties. For the most part, the more a structure might be explicable in terms of generalized principles of language modification, such as generalization and redundancy reduction, the greater likelihood is that the structures in SJE will match those found in other non-mainstream varieties. This sort of similarity points to a more independent basis of similarity in SJE in its relation to other non-mainstream varieties.

The relationship between SJE and other non-mainstream varieties, particularly other Indian English varieties, is an issue to be taken up in more detail in the following chapter. It is sufficient here to note that there are similarities between SJE and other non-mainstream varieties but SJE cannot be defined simply in these terms.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1] Tewa naturally exhibits some dialect differences as spoken in different regions and by different people. Without comparable accounts, it is difficult to evaluate the extent of these differences, although Speirs notes for Tewa that "the differences are slight enough -- something on the order of regional differences within the major dialect areas of the United States" (1966:4). For the most part, we shall have to assume that the source language dialect is San Juan Tewa.

[2] Although the term "error" and "deviance" are commonly used by investigators as cover-terms for divergence from the target language norm, they are not appropriate labels for the type of phenomenon we are discussing here. Systematic changes in structure which follow principled language patterns of L_1 influence or L_2 strategies can hardly be considered "errors" in any linguistic sense (cf. Corder 1974:104-105). Given the patterned aspects of rule changes or modifications, "deviance" does not seem appropriate since it implies normative linguistic standards which are not necessarily operative. Our resistance to these labels may be likened to our opposition to the labels "incorrect" or "ungrammatical" as appropriate caricatures of non-mainstream language forms.

[3] Selinker (1974:121-122) treats overgeneralization of target language material as a category distinct from a second language learning strategies. In reality, however, it appears to be one particular type of language learning strategy.

[4] Although Chicano English might be thought of initially as simply Spanish-influenced English, it is more than that. Metcalfe (1974:53) points out that it can function independently of Spanish and may be the first, and, in some cases, the only variety of English used by some of its speakers. For this reason, a term such as Chicano English is preferable to a designation such as Spanish-influenced English, even though there are some objections to the term "Chicano English" (cf. Metcalfe 1974:54).

[5] Relative frequency here refers to the rates at which a particular structure or process (in this case, syllable final d deletion) is actually observed in relation to all those linguistic contexts where it might have occurred.

[6] Unfortunately, some treatments of tense marking in varieties of Indian English do not even cite as examples instances of non-realized past tense which differ from the production of these forms in standard English. Thus examples of non-past tense such as Cook's (1973:246) I help my ... or we stop to rest would often be produced in this way in standard English. The simplification of clusters when the following word begins with a consonant is well-established in mainstream as well as non-mainstream varieties (cf. Wolfram 1969:67ff). It is only when the following word begins with a vowel that these varieties may differ qualitatively (e.g. I helped at or we stopped at). In such cases, we are dealing with an artificial rather than real difference between varieties of Indian English and standard English.

[7] Useta actually appears to function as a quasi-modal rather than a verb or temporal adverb. However, since it explicitly marks a past habituality so overtly, it is also considered as a type of temporal adverb here.

[8] The independent adverbial use of before in (17e) (as opposed to its prepositional usage) seems to be somewhat extended from its use in mainstream varieties of English. In this usage, it contrasts with the adverb nowadays or now in its reference to a general time frame.

[9] The use of the asterisk refers to forms that are not grammatical according to the rules of the variety in question. That is, they are ill-formed sentences which would not occur.

[10] In some cases, an intermediary stage before this one might mark tense on the verb but not on the auxiliary (e.g. Yesterday he don't want), moving from this stage to the pleonastic tense marking.

[11] As Baker (1970) discusses, there are, of course, sentences in English which may contain more than one logical negative, and they may be interpreted as a type of affirmative. These are quite different from sentences where one logical or underlying negative may surface at more than one point in the sentence.

[12] The association of this type of negative concord as a general acquisitional strategy is also supported by evidence from first language acquisition. Bellugi (1967) cites examples of this negative pattern which occur at particular developmental stages in children.

[13] Standard English does allow a type of multiple negative marking in sentences such as He didn't go to the movie, I don't think. This, however, is related to special cases of "negative dislocation" (Lawler 1974:363) where the matrix sentence is postposed after the embedded sentence. Sentences such as those given here would not be found in standard English with a negative interpretation (cf. Lawler 1974 for further discussion).

[14] The alleged synonymity of sentences with and without so-called "negative raising" can be seriously questioned, and has become a pivotal question in the consideration of competing models of grammatical description (cf. Carden 1970, Jackendoff 1971).

[15] Historically, there are two sources from which ain't was derived. First, it derived from the contraction have + not, which was contracted to something like han't, which in turn became hain't and eventually ain't. The second source of the contraction comes from am + not; where am + not became amn't, then changed to aan't and eventually ain't. This form was then extended by analogy to correspond to isn't and aren't as well.

[16] The low potential number of examples is due to the fact that auxiliary contraction (e.g. 's not or 're not) is often chosen over negative contraction and auxiliary and negative contraction are mutually exclusive (i.e. a form such as you'rnt is not found). Only those forms involving negative contraction (e.g. isn't, aren't) can be considered as genuine potential correspondences for ain't.

[17] It is not exactly clear whether none or not all is the negative equivalent of positive all (cf. Carden 1970). These different types of negative realizations can entail different scope potential for the negative.

[18] These phrases may come from a different source than tags (resulting from a rule that moves them from the beginning to the end of an utterance) and should perhaps not be included here. However, they do appear to share some properties with the tags under discussion. Either analysis would require further argument.

[19] It is also possible that such cases might be surface phonetic forms derived from interjective you know. Such forms are quite frequent among some speakers, and can be phonetically collapsed to [^{y}no]. Given the prominence of depalatalization for some speakers (cf. Section 3.3.3), it is not at all unreasonable to reduce this further to [no] in casual, more rapid styles of speech.

[20] The use of how for what in contexts such as They used to have that, how they call that? (87:94), I don't know how you would call that? (104:66), or Did you get to Knoxbury Farm? How was that place like? (82:96) do appear to be attributable to Spanish influence as a type of loan translation of Spanish como, but this relates to a particular item rather than an entire structure.

[21] Several occurrences of that with a plural noun have been found (e.g. that chairs), but these are very infrequent compared to this. Such cases would appear to have a grammatical base, suggesting that there are isolated cases in which this plus a plural noun may result from a grammatical rather than a phonological process.

[22] The demonstrative in Tewa indicates concord relationships which may extend to the noun, adjective, and, in some cases, verb. While the notion of number is derived in Tewa in a way quite different from English (cf. Speirs (1966:159) where he suggests demonstratives are involved in a distinction between "entity-ness" and "set-ness") there are demonstrative suffixes which interrelate with other class categories to yield number distinctions as a by-product. Speirs makes no mention of a demonstrative distinction based on proximity, as with the proximate/remote distinction found in English, although Trager (1961:215) and Merrifield (1959:269) do for Kiowa-Tanoan languages.

[23] The quantifier all would not necessarily disambiguate the structure by itself since it might be used with a reference of 'entirety' as opposed to plurality.

[24] In other varieties, it appears that the more typical pronunciation is something like *an 'em*, where the initial consonant of *them* is assimilated to the preceding nasal segment or lost. Since this process does not occur nearly as frequently in SJE, the more common form includes the consonant in *them*, typically a stop like *d*.

[25] It is interesting to speculate that there is a formal difference between those structures which take dual suffixation and those taking single suffixation. For example, the former cases might stand in "role prominence" in terms of the reference group whereas the latter only in "conversational prominence" (cf. our discussion below). Based on such few cases of suffixation, however, such a hypothesis is largely speculative and extremely tentative. It is, however, an interesting possibility which deserves to be explored.

[26] There is ongoing controversy over whether *y'all* can be used as a singular. If it can have a singular reference, it would contrast with *you guys*, but our own studies of this form (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:176) indicate that its reference is restricted to plurals, with the possible exception of certain idiomatic expressions (e.g. *Y'all come back now*).

[27] Part of this distribution pattern is, no doubt, a function of the interview in which the fieldworker asks general questions about various groups and activities. There is not nearly as much opportunity for the subjects to address the fieldworkers in a similar way.

[28] There is some dispute concerning the inclusion of the *nt* cluster in this list, since *t* may be absent in some cases. This one nasal plus stop combination presents a special problem due to the operation of some processes particular to this cluster (e.g. flapping [nt] to [ň].). The process accounting for this absence seems to be somewhat different from that affecting other clusters which are a direct result of the deletion process (cf. Fasold 1972:102-104 for a more detailed account).

[29] The fact that the final segment is often [s] rather than [z] in these examples is due to the general devoicing of final segments (cf. Section 3.3.2)

[30] One might conceivably argue that a form like tes should be considered as the base or underlying form and the t be considered an insertion process in this variety. We rule this out since this alternative loses the generality of the deletion process. For example, one deletion process could describe all aspects of the simplification process whereas an addition process would have to mark which stop (i.e. t, p, or k) is added for each individual item.

[31] Devoicing refers to the lack of voicing throughout the production of the segment rather than a gradual reduction in voicing in the segment. The latter case is fairly typical of a number of consonants considered to "voiced" in English whereas the former condition characterizes "voiceless" consonants.

[32] In most cases the t which occurs is momentarily unreleased (i.e. [t˺]). It is sometimes quite difficult to distinguish between [t˺] and [ʔ] on the basis of a tape-recorded interview, so that we do not attempt to do so in our tabulation here.

[33] Although Penfield (1977:32) gives frequency levels of glottal stop occurrence for several Indian varieties of English, they are not comparable since the figures are computed for the use of glottal corresponding to all final stops rather than just d. Furthermore, no distinction is made on the basis of the surrounding context. These distinctions are crucial for meaningful frequency tabulations in our data, and an examination of the data provided by Penfield in the appendix indicates that they are also crucial to her quantitative analysis.

[34] Speakers were also chosen on the basis of having adequate numbers of potential examples for the calculation of meaningful percentage figures, although there are still several context types which do not have adequate numbers of tokens.

[35] Phonetically, a glottal [ʔ] is much more frequent than a [t] here although we use the t in our broad transcription here. Also, the n may be realized as a nasalized vowel rather than a nasal segment here.

[36] There are, of course, varieties of English which differ in the palatalization of t and d (e.g. [tuzde^{i}] versus [t^{y}uzde^{I}] 'Tuesday' and [du]

versus [d^{y}u] 'due'), but mu sequences retain palatalization in practically all varieties of English.

[37] Another varying pronunciation involving all the forms cited here is the final t, which may or may not be present. For example, we might get both couldnt [kUdn̩t] and couldn [kUdn̩] or coultnt [kUtn̩t] and coultn [kUtn].

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INTER-COMMUNITY COMPARISON OF VARIETIES OF INDIAN ENGLISH: SAN JUAN AND LAGUNA ENGLISH

4.1 Introduction

As referred to at various points in the preceding chapters, a recurrent issue in the study of varieties of English spoken by Native Americans is the relationship that they have to each other. The spectrum of opinion in this regard runs the full gamut: from the opinion that they are virtually identical to the opinion that each variety must be considered as totally distinct. Given the varied opinion, an essential dimension of investigating Indian English varieties must ultimately extend beyond a single community. The essential question is the way(s) in which different Indian communities employing non-mainstream varieties are alike and dissimilar.

We earlier detailed our rationale for selecting the communities of San Juan and Laguna as a beginning point in inter-community comparisons. Both of these communities have participated historically in the tradition of Rio Grande puebloan cultures, with language contact histories which were quite similar. On the other hand, they have both maintained vibrant, stable local communities as independent entities. Linguistically, they are of interest because of their similar histories in terms of language maintenance and contact while the ancestral languages spoken in the two communities are genetically unrelated. Given this ideal setting for a comparison, a number of the questions concerning the relationships of Indian English varieties may be answered. Ultimately, of course, it will be necessary to expand our base of comparison, but many of the more general questions may be confronted on the basis of this specific comparison. As we shall see, what we refer to as Laguna English (LE) and San Juan English (SJE) share a number of different structural characteristics, at least on a qualitative level. In some instances, these shared characteristics may extend to other non-mainstream varieties as well, while in other instances they may set these varieties apart. The explanatory basis for these shared structures is central both to the specific details of this comparison and the general nature of language contact situations. On a specific level, we want to account for the shared structures of SJE and LE which might differentiate them from mainstream varieties of English. On a broader level, we want to extrapolate the general principles of language organization which lead to such shared structures.

4.1.1 On the Explanation of Structural Similarity

As it turns out, there are several different types of explanations that might account for similarities between varieties such as SJE and LE. Although we expect a consistent explanation, we must resist the temptation to adopt a simplistic answer to this question. As Leap put it:

> The issue in grammatical analysis becomes not the identification of one, or more, sources of input, but an explication of the dynamic balance made between the various influences within the contemporary code.
>
> Leap 1976:10

Observations such as Leap's suggest that there is more than one influencing source which must be appealed to in accounting for a particular variety of Indian English. And, if there is more than one source which must be appealed to in accounting for a particular variety, it stands to reason that there may be more than one explanatory source in accounting for similarities between varieties. The intriguing question is how the competing sources may have been utilized in arriving at structural similarities, just as we want to know how different input sources have been used in arriving at the structural characteristics of a given variety.

As a first step in arriving at a consistent and reasonable explanation of similarities (and differences) in SJE and LE, it is necessary to identify some of the major types of sources which might result in similar structures. What are the possible explanations for similarities between SJE and LE to which we might appeal? Before we can examine the dynamics of the various influences which have resulted in the contemporary codes, we must isolate our alternative sources. On that basis, we can evaluate the reasonableness of particular explanations for structures. As we shall see, the explanation of particular structural similarities is not nearly as clean-cut as the delimited alternatives we set forth here. Nonetheless, the general considerations explicated here form the basis for our specific details of source attribution in the following sections.

One possible explanation for similarities between the varieties of English spoken in San Juan and Laguna is the ancestral language codes, Tewa and Keres respectively. It is certainly possible that these indigenous language systems are imposing their structure on the English of these communities in quite similar ways. Since we know that we cannot appeal to a genetic relationship between Keres and Tewa in accounting for similar influence from ancestral language sources, we are left with ancestral language influences based on typologically similar structures. In order for the ancestral language influence to be a viable explanation for similarities in the two systems of English, however, the source languages have to indicate structural similarities at crucial points vis-a-vis the target language system of English. If this is the case, we have identical types of language transfer or interference. In this process, English rules might be followed until there is a conflict between the Keres and Tewa systems, at which point there is a transfer to the ancestral language rule of Keres or Tewa respectively. At the point of conflict, Keres and Tewa are typologically alike in their contrast to the English system. Schematically, we might represent a hypothetical case of this situation something like the following:

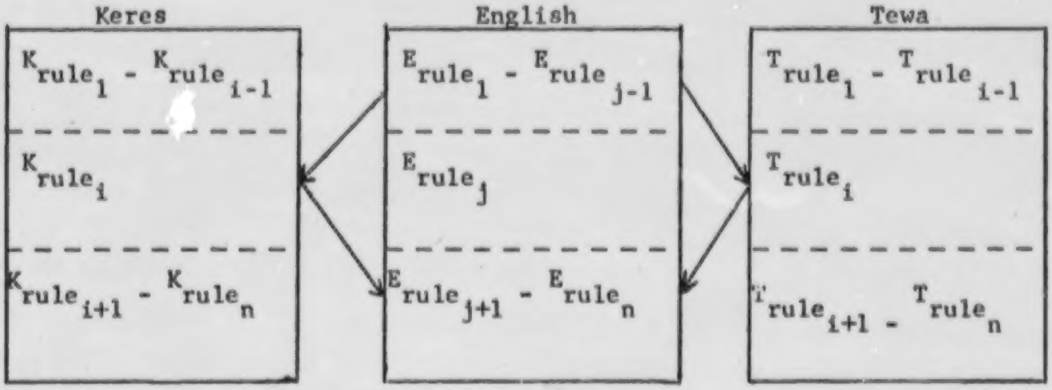

Keres
English
Tewa
$^{K}rule_{1}$ - $^{K}rule_{i-1}$
$^{K}rule_{i}$
$^{K}rule_{i+1}$ - $^{K}rule_{n}$
$^{E}rule_{1}$ - $^{E}rule_{j-1}$
$^{E}rule_{j}$
$^{E}rule_{j+1}$ - $^{E}rule_{n}$
$^{T}rule_{1}$ - $^{T}rule_{i-1}$
$^{T}rule_{i}$
$^{T}rule_{i+1}$ - $^{T}rule_{n}$

Figure 4.1 Schematic Representation of Similar Structural Conflict from Two Different Sources

The important aspect of the relationship between San Juan and Laguna English is the similarity in the typology of the native languages at the point of conflict with the English system. In order for such a similarity between the varieties to appear, there need not be any contact between the speakers in the two communities in their learning of English; it is a similarity which can arise quite independent of any contact situation. For example, suppose both Laguna and San Juan speakers indicate aspects of tense usage in English which are quite different from what we would expect in currently-known mainstream and non-mainstream varieties of English, and both native languages in the communities are alike in their differentiation from English. At the point of conflict with the English system, we might expect tense usage in San Juan and Laguna English to be similar, because of the transfer to the similar native language structure. When similarities of this type arise, we have what might be called identical structural transfer.

A second possible explanation for similarities relates not to the specifics of the native language source systems, but the structure of the target system itself. As Taylor (1974:30) and others have noted, there are many aspects of acquiring a second language which show systematic similarities among speakers regardless of the native language background of the speaker. These modifications of the system relate to what Selinker (1974:120) calls "strategies of second language learning", and involve general principles related to acquisition independent of a particular native language system. There is considerable evidence that these principles relate to both first and second language acquisition (cf. Dulay and Burt 1972). Essentially, these types of modifications of the target system involve particular processes such as rule generalization (or overgeneralization) and the reduction of redundancies. As mentioned earlier (cf. Section 3.1.2), generalization may refer to the regularization of exceptions in the target language, or it may refer to the expansion of a rule beyond the selected domain of application in the target language. In the case of redundancy reduction, structurally superfluous forms may be modified or eliminated as a general strategy. Examples of such cases have been given in our earlier discussion. The important point is the fact that such modifications are dictated on the basis of the target language itself as approached by any learner of the language.

If we assume that some of the structures found in Laguna and San Juan are related historically to the fact that English was learned as a second language, we may attribute similarities in these varieties to this type of acquisitional strategy. Such commonality would not, however, be unique to SJE and LE as systems, but would be manifested in virtually any situation where English was learned as a second language. That is, the shared structures would appear regardless of the first language. In this instance, Laguna and San Juan are simply two communities where this language contact situation is being manifested. In order for such modifications to be more than a transitional stage of second language acquisition, they would have to become "fossilized" for a group of speakers. That is, a stage in the "interlanguage" of a speaker is stabilized and leveled to the point where it no longer can be considered simply a temporary level in the acquisitional process of a given speaker which is soon to be phased out. By interlanguage here, we are referring to Selinker's (1974:117) definition as a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of the target language norm.

In order to establish similarities based on common modification of the English language system, two criteria must be met. First, we should be able to anticipate and predict those aspects of the system which will be predisposed for modification based on the organization of the target system. Thus, we might predict that rules with marked exceptions or rules which are implied on the basis of other rules or structures are prime candidates for the processes of (over) generalization and redundancy reduction to operate. For example, we would predict that irregular verbs or irregular plural forms might be regularized, since they are exceptions to the dominant pattern in the target language. Or, we might predict that third person singular present tense marking will be modified since it is the only main verb form for person. With respect to redundancy reduction, we might predict that plural marking in the context of modifying quantifiers might be absent since plurality would be redundantly marked in both the modifier and noun form.

Second, we must have an empirical base of second language learners with structurally diverse first language backgrounds who indicate the particular modification in similar ways. In particular, we want speakers representing quite distinct languages typologically to manifest the particular modification. It is not sufficient that typologically similar languages (such as Keres and Tewa in this instance, even though they are genetically unrelated) reveal the same structural modifications. Although we do not have a representative inventory of typologically diverse language groups to serve as an indisputable empirical base for our conclusions here, there is a growing number of studies in different language settings which serve as a more extensive comparative base in meeting this criterion. If these criteria can be met, then we might attribute some of the structural similarities of SJE and LE to what we shall call identical structural modification.

A third possible explanation for similarities in the structures of varieties such as LE and SJE might be based on surrounding non-mainstream English models. In the description of SJE and LE, our reference point is an idealized mainstream variety of English. That is, we are essentially interested in describing those structures in the varieties which are different from a mainstream norm. From this vantage point, it is certainly possible to include in our description structures which characterize other non-mainstream varieties of English as well as SJE and LE. In fact, one of the important questions is the extent to which the structures of SJE and LE are also found in other non-mainstream varieties. Thus, we shall see that aspects of multiple negation and verb concord in SJE and LE are shared with surrounding non-mainstream speaking English communities. When we speak of structures common to SJE and LE we certainly do not mean to imply that the structures are necessarily unique to these varieties among the range of non-mainstream varieties to be found in the United States. If we can show that a particular form exists in a contact non-mainstream variety of English, the possibility of non-mainstream dialect diffusion must be considered as a viable explanation for shared features. In such a case, the similarity of structures in LE and SJE might be due to diffusion from a common external source. If the contact source is not common to both varieties, then it must at least be identical with respect to the structure in question. In such cases of apparent diffusion, we have an identical non-mainstream English model which results in similarity in SJE and LE.

When we speak of the surrounding English speaking non-mainstream community, we are not necessarily excluding the influence of another non-Indian language on the English model. In this case, we are typically referring to the model of Spanish-influenced English. This is a very real possibility given the extent of Spanish-Indian contact which has taken place historically (Chapter Two). In situations of this type, it is quite reasonable to find influences on English which derive from the Spanish-influenced English spoken in surrounding communities (cf. Miller 1977:112). We see, for example, that the generalized use of the no tag question in sentences such as He like the story, no? is well attested as a feature of Spanish-influenced English used in the Southwest (Lance 1975:141). In the absence of a native language source, a generalized modification process, or an Anglo-based, non-mainstream contact variety which might account for the emergence of this form, it seems only reasonable to turn to the Spanish-influenced model of the surrounding community (and in some cases, active within the community through the integration of some speakers whose first language was Spanish).

Although we have listed the various possible sources for similarities as if they were alternative explanations, they should not necessarily be considered exclusive of each other. It is quite possible for the various processes to lead to the same product. In an earlier study of language assimilation, Wolfram (1973:194) demonstrated how language transfer and a non-mainstream English model may lead to the same structure, thereby having a supportive effect on each other (cf. Wolfram 1973:194ff for the formal justification of "convergent processes"). This type of convergence has also been noted with respect to language transfer and inherently-based structural modification (cf. Duskova 1969:18). The possible convergence of processes will turn up in a number of cases as we describe the identical structures found in LE and SJE. This is certainly to be expected, since a *characteristic type of modification such as generalization of* rules (or "overgeneralization") seems to be a governing principle of language change in general. Thus, generalization as a process of modification may be found in change coming from within the system itself, such as the case of some non-mainstream varieties, or change coming from the pressures of external systems, such as the case of language contact. While the acknowledgement of converging explanations adds complexity and indefiniteness to our identification of responsible sources in the resultant system, it is a concession demanded by our understanding of the nature of Language.

It is noteworthy to observe that none of the explanations discussed above assumes contact between the two communities themselves as a basis for their similar structures. It is quite possible for similarities in the two varieties to exist without current or historical contact between the communities in their use of English. This is an important point to stress since it has sometimes been suggested (cf. Dillard 1972; Leechman and Hall 1955) that similarities found between varieties of English spoken in different Indian communities is prima facie evidence for a common historical base of English. What we are referring to here is the postulation of an earlier American Indian Pidgin English which was exposed to fairly wide extension during the Renaissance explorations (Miller 1977:112). If such a contact vernacular existed, we might attribute some of the current similarities found in these varieties to this predecessor. Current studies of pidgin and creole languages certainly indicate a common set of structural characteristics (cf. Kay and Sankoff 1974; Schumann1974) to be found in such situations and some of the characteristics which we shall describe for LE and SJE might certainly qualify as typical vestiges of such an historical source. While the possible existence of an American Indian Pidgin English as the basis for explaining similarities deserves serious consideration, the structural characteristics in themselves do not substantiate such a conclusion. As it turns out, some of the same types of processes we have discussed earlier with reference to second language learning modifications are precisely the processes at work in the formation of a pidgin. Aspects of generalization and redundancy reduction are certainly at work in both cases. On this basis, some (e.g. Whinnom 1971) prefer to make a clear differentiation between the process of pidginization, which might refer to structural adaptations discussed above regardless of the contact situation which brings it about, and a pidgin language, which refers to a unique entity arising in a particular type of language contact situation.

Whinnom (1971) unites the various aspects of structural modification on a continuum in terms of different types of "hybridization", extending a parallel from the biological sciences. Primary hybridization refers to the breaking up of a language into different varieties, and shall not be of much concern to us here. Secondary hybridization is found in the type of "interlanguage" spoken by a second language learner. As Whinnom defines it, this type of situation may become continually renewed by new learners and thus become a recognizable variety of speech in itself (Schumann 1974:139). It is, however, characterized by a great degree of variation among speakers, for the learner evolves in the direction of the standard target language as proficiency in that language gains. Although this is the case, the particular system maintains some constancy from generation to generation. Tertiary hybridization involves a removal of the target language from consideration in the sense that the resultant language is not the native language of any (two or more) of the groups who use it for contact purposes. Tertiary hybridization leads to a pidgin language. Its structural characteristics among the various speakers are considerably more stable than those aspects of secondary hybridization or interlanguage. Furthermore, there are particular social aspects which characterize the emergence of pidgin languages such as a socially recognizable contact community with a sizeable number of members of groups participating (Silverstein 1973:10).

In order to suggest that similar structures of English found in SJE and LE might be attributable to a pidgin predecessor, we would have to go considerably beyond the citation of particular structures which are common to English-based pidgins or creoles. Essentially, we would have to reconstruct a social milieu amenable to its emergence and document its widespread usage by Indian and non-Indian groups in the area. Based on our understanding of the contact situation in the Rio Grande region historically (Chapter Two) such does not seem plausible.

Historically, there was little contact with the English language by Tewa and Keres speakers until the early part of this century. Up to that time, any bilingualism presumably was in Spanish and the Indian language. If there was a pidgin or creole which existed in the area, it was probably Spanish-based rather than English-based. It thus seems quite unlikely that the similar English structures to be found in these varieties can be attributed to a tradition of Pidgin English locally.

To dispute the pidgin basis for explaining similarities between LE and SJE is not, of course, to completely exclude the possibility of contact, either direct or indirect, between communities as the basis for some of the similarities. It is certainly possible that the operative boarding schools which educated the previous generations of speakers in English could have provided an environment for uniting various structures of the English spoken by Indians. There is some evidence that these schools, with their historical policy of English only for native speakers of Indian languages, had a leveling affect on the varieties of English spoken by different groups of Indians (Malancon and Malancon 1976). In many cases, these schools serviced students from quite different ancestral language backgrounds, and students were forced to use a variety of English almost exclusively. This type of situation would naturally lead to a certain amount of commonality in the structures. It is certainly possible that the operative boarding schools in the vicinity of the two communities discussed here, in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, could have provided a context for historical contact in leveling the English of the communities toward more similar structures.

We do not argue this possible basis for similarity, but the role of contact between the groups historically and currently must be placed in perspective along with the other types of competing explanations mentioned above. Ultimately, we have to consider that the various explanations might fit together to give us a congruent picture. This picture must be justified by both the language and social dynamics, past and present.

4.1.2 Some Representative Structures for Comparison

At this point, our description of similarity and difference in SJE and LE is most reasonably considered by looking at a representative inventory of structures in the two varieties. While there may be considerable speculation as to the ultimate source for a particular similarity or difference, the establishment of these similarities and differences is an empirical question to be answered by looking at actual structures in the varieties.

In the following investigation, various aspects of some representative structures will be examined to determine the extent of similarity and difference in SJE and LE. Where possible, we will also consider the relationship of these varieties to other non-mainstream varieties so that we may ascertain how they fit into the continuum of divergence from mainstream varieties of English. This extended comparison is important for descriptive and theoretical issues of dialect divergence, and also has important educational implications.

The structures investigated here represent various dimensions of inter-dialectal comparison. First of all, we have structures which are generally recognized as indicators of social differentiation across a wide range of varieties of English. Aspects of negation, such as multiple negation and ain't usage, have general social significance in virtually all varieties of English, although there are certainly dimensions of negation which differentiate non-mainstream varieties. Aspects of subject-verb concord are quite similar in this respect, in that it is a phenomenon which differentiates sociolinguistic groups across a wide range of English varieties.

Another structure considered here is found in some other non-mainstream varieties, but operates considerably different dependent on the variety. This is the variable of plural marking. Plural -s absence is not a socially diagnostic feature, while in some midland and Southern white varieties it is socially diagnostic only in a small subset of structures (viz. weight and measurement items). In a variety such as Vernacular Black English, it is much more expanded in its structural application. Given the variety of differences in non-mainstream English, we want to observe how SJE and LE may fit into the overall picture.

Another structure for comparison is quite typically cited as a characteristic of Indian varieties of English, but was not usually found in other non-mainstream varieties. This is unmarked tense usage as a grammatically-based phenomenon. Unmarked tense is then somewhat unique, or, at least, cited as a unique characteristic of these varieties. In fact, unmarked tense is a commonly-cited, but little-studied aspect of Indian varieties of English. It stands as a structure which is crucial to any formulation of pan-Indian varieties of English.

In addition to the four structures cited above, which are primarily grammatical in nature, we compare here two characteristics which are primarily phonological in nature. These are word-final consonant cluster reduction and syllable-final d devoicing. The former case has been studied in a number of different contexts for other non-mainstream varieties of English, and our investigation here will complement other studies by indicating how SJE and LE are similar to each other in this regard, and how they compare with cluster reduction in other varieties where it has been studied.

The other phonological feature is somewhat parallel to the grammatical feature of unmarked tense in that final d devoicing, particularly the glottal stop, is commonly cited as a characteristic of a range of Indian English varieties, at least in the Southwest. Syllable-final d devoicing has also been studied in several other contexts so that we can compare the results from SJE and LE with a broader range of non-mainstream varieties of English. Like unmarked tense in grammar, it is crucial for any formulation of pan-Indian phonological structures in the Southwest.

As shown above, the representative structures compared here cover a cross-section of characteristics. It should enable us to answer some crucial questions concerning the similarity of Indian varieties in one region, which is certainly a preliminary to any broader study of pan-Indian varieties in a more expanded area. The particular structures chosen should also enable us to see how these varieties fit into the broader picture of non-mainstream varieties outside the context of the Native American community.

4.2 Negation in San Juan and Laguna English

The examination of aspects of negation in SJE and LE provides an excellent opportunity for observing how these varieties compare with respect to a socially diagnostic variable which has been found to occur throughout practically all varieties of English. As mentioned previously, the dimensions of negation have been studied in a variety of different contexts, so that a comparison here not only provides us with insight into the relationship of these two varieties, but their relationship in terms of the wider scope of divergence among non-mainstream varieties of English. The question is how these two varieties compare with each other, and then, in turn, how they compare with a wider range of varieties of English distinguished on the basis of patterns of negation.

4.2.1 Negative Concord

We have already discussed in some detail how negative concord functions in SJE, and how this compares with other non-mainstream varieties of English. Several patterns of negative concord have been established for this variety. Most predominant is the realization of multiple negation on post-verbal indefinites, where the negative in the verb phrase is simple "copied" onto indefinites following the verb phrase. Both SJE (1a-c) and LE (2a-c) clearly evidence this type of negative concord.

(1) a. I didn't take no jacket (46:68)
b. I really don't like none of those things (76:90)
c. I didn't bother her no more (80:107)

(2) a. He didn't have no money (48:68)
b. My brother don't like nobody so I can't go to nobody (11:485)
c. There's not hardly no rides like that (53:353)

Since post-verbal negative concord can be documented for both SJE and LE, the relevant question in this comparison is the extent and distribution of this pattern in the two populations. In Table 4.1, we have compared the incidence of multiple negation for 14 interviews in each community where more than five potential cases of multiple negation are found in the corpus. The procedures for tabulation are identical to those discussed in Section 3.2.6.1. As in our previous tabulation of post-verbal multiple negation for a representative group from San Juan, a distinction is made between post-verbal indefinites within the main clause (e.g. He didn't do anything/nothing) and those outside the main clause (e.g. He didn't buy a new car or anything/ nothing). This is in keeping with a generally recognized constraint which favors negative copying within the main clause. In addition to the Table giving the incidence of multiple negation for different interviews in the two communities, a rank frequence curve in Figure 4.2 displays the distribution graphically.

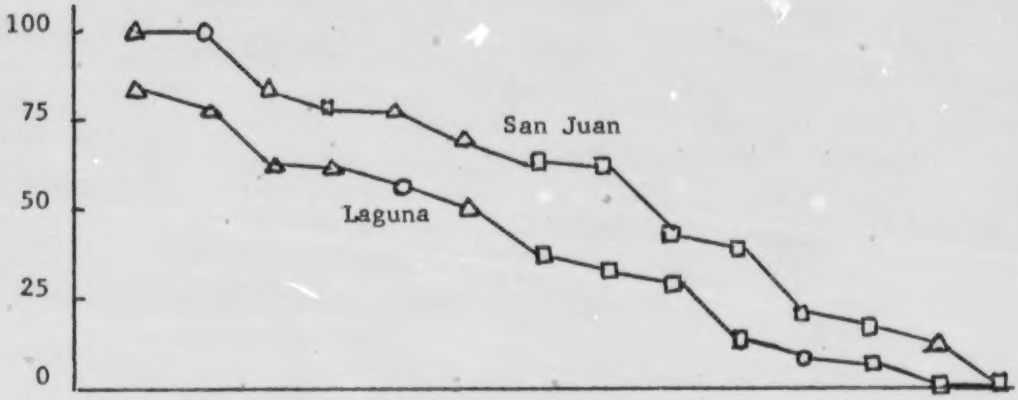


Figure 4.2. Rank Frequency Curve for Incidence of Multiple Negation in San Juan and Laguna English

Key

△ = 10 - 19 Years Old
○ = 20 - 39 Years Old
□ = Above 40 Years Old

		San Juan					Laguna		
Subj. No.	Age	Within Clause Act/Pot	% MN	Outside Clause Act/Pot	Subj. No.	Age	Within Clause Act/Pot	% MN	Outside Clause Act/Pot
85	12	7/7	100.0	2/3	10	11	5/6	83.3	---
94	20	7/7	100.0	0/3	11	11	7/9	77.8	---
117	10	5/6	83.3	1/1	1	14	8/13	61.5	---
80	46	16/20	80.0	0/3	4	14	6/10	60.0	1/5
116	11	7/9	77.8	---	23	34	10/18	55.6	4/9
120	11	5/7	71.4	0/1	53	11	6/12	50.0	1/1
87	73	6/9	66.7	3/4	60	53	7/18	38.9	0/1
103	77	13/20	65.0	---	19	46	3/9	33.3	0/3
102	72	5/11	45.5	0/2	34	62	4/14	28.6	0/4
188	37	5/12	41.7	0/2	49	40	3/19	15.8	0/2
130	42	3/13	23.1	---	50	37	1/12	8.3	0/8
103	43	5/24	20.8	0/6	59	67	1/13	7.7	0/1
150	11	1/7	14.2	---	35	47	0/10	0.0	0/7
104	54	0/10	0.0	0/1	58	42	0/18	0.0	0/3
TOTAL		85/162	52.5	6/26 23.1			61/181	33.7	6/44 13.6
Median			65.9					33.3	
Mean			56.4					37.2	

Table 4.1 The Incidence of Multiple Negation in San Juan and Laguna English

Several important observations about the incidences of multiple negation can be made on the basis of Table 4.1 and Figure 4.2. Both communities show a wide range in the incidence of multiple negation among speakers, extending from categorical or near-categorical users to those who indicate the categorical or near-categorical absence of negative concord. The majority of speakers in both cases, however, fall within these extremes. While both communities reveal negative concord to some extent, the general pattern indicates that its incidence is typically less frequent in Laguna than in San Juan. Differences in the total, median, and mean scores all point to such a difference. Furthermore, the difference is found in both main clause and clause external realizations of negative concord. What we find, then, is that post-verbal negative concord is a pattern which is found in both communities, with a higher incidence in San Juan than in Laguna. Differences are primarily quantitative rather than qualitative.

The distribution of multiple negation in terms of age categories within the communities is also worthy of comparison. In both cases, the younger speakers tend to cluster at the higher levels of usage vis-a-vis their older counterparts. In the case of San Juan, four of the five speakers in the 10-19 year range show frequency levels above the median range, while all five interviews in this age category in Laguna reveal frequency levels above the median. Furthermore, in Laguna, the four speakers with the highest incidence of multiple negation are 10-19 year olds, and in San Juan, four of the six speakers with the highest incidence are 10 to 19 year olds. The picture that emerges, then, is quite clear. Multiple negation is a pattern favored among younger speakers in both of these communities. This pattern is quite parallel although the frequency levels of usage may differ.

The particular type of age distribution not only reveals the importance of this social variable in discussing the language patterns of these communities, but also sheds light on the source of similarity for the negative concord pattern. The prominence of multiple negation among the younger speakers vis-a-vis the older speakers appears in conflict with the general distributional pattern of language transfer phenomena. Typically, older speakers, who learned English subsequent to the ancestral language, will reveal transfer phenomena more prominently than younger speakers, who learned English as a first language. Although we cannot rule out the possibility of language transfer and/or a general acquisitional source explanation for the incidence of multiple negation among older speakers, the general pattern of age distribution points to the influence of a diffusional source for at least the present generation of speakers. The contact non-mainstream varieties certainly evidence this negative concord pattern, whether it be the Spanish-influenced English or general midland non-mainstream varieties of Anglo origin. As we shall see, the conclusion that multiple negation is being maintained through diffusional influence is in keeping with some other observations concerning negative patterns in these varieties, particularly the use of the lexical item _ain't._

As mentioned in our earlier discussion of negation in SJE, post-verbal negative concord is not the only type of concord that has been found in our study. There are also cases of pre-verbal negative indefinites which may also have a negative realized on an auxiliary within the verb phrase. The SJE examples (3a-d) of this type can be matched by similar examples found in the Laguna corpus (4a-d).

SJE Examples

(3) a. First Speaker: I don't want nobody to see it.
Second Speaker: I'll check it and _nobody doesn't_ have to see it. 183:391

b. It's true, we raised all the money and then nobody -- _no other place won't_ raise nothing, no. 183:651

c. _Nobody isn't_ gonna find out. 105:104

d. ...they smoke somewhere else _nobody won't_ see them. 94:294.

Laguna Examples

(4) a. Her husband would pick up the phone and _nobody won't_ be on there (11:35)

b. Man, and _nobody couldn't_ even help, _nobody couldn't_ even kill it (21:10)

c. _Nobody_ hardly _didn't_ go outside or anything (14:642)

d. Pretty soon _nobody wasn't_ painting no more (53:21)

As pointed out previously, these structures are treated as a type of negative concord since there is apparently only one logical negative in the sentence.

Although we have not subjected negative concord of this type to any frequency tabulations, its incidence seems somewhat restricted in both SJE and LE. We conclude that it is an integral, if restricted type of negative concord to be found in both varieties of English.

An even more infrequent type of negative concord we have found in both varieties affects negatives across clauses. In such cases, the auxiliary in the second clause is negativized in addition to the negativization of the first clause. There are only a couple of cases of this type in SJE (5a,b) and one case in LE (6), involving somewhat different structures.

(5) a. ...and I don't think nowadays this kids aren't getting that (76:115)

b. I'm not gonna deny she's not spoiled (76:503)

(6) He didn't care if he didn't win or not (10:37)

In these examples, the context indicates that the interpretation would be quite different from the standard English one, in which case the negative placement rule would not place a negative on the auxiliary of the second clause. We are, however, cautious not to make too much of these isolated cases, other than note that we have documented their rare occurrence in both varieties. As we observed earlier, however, such cases are apparently quite rare even in those varieties of English where they can be documented. With such infrequent examples, we cannot be certain of how such structures fit into the total language picture of the communities at this stage of analysis.

4.2.2 Comparison with Other Varieties

The total picture of negative concord for SJE and LE in relation to each other and other varieties of English can probably best be seen through extending two tables we looked at earlier in relation to negative concord for SJE (cf. p.128). First is a table showing how these varieties fit in terms of the different types of negative concord structures found in English. Four main aspects of negative concord are delimited in this table: (1) copying of the negative element on post-verbal indefinites in addition to the negative element in the main verb phrase (i.e. sentences like *He didn't do nothing*), (2) the copying of the negative on a pre-verbal indefinite and the main verb phrase (i.e. sentences like *Nobody can't do it*), (3) inversion of the negativized auxiliary and the pre-verbal indefinite (i.e. sentences like *Can't nobody do it* as a declarative), and (4) application of the negative to an auxiliary in another clause (i.e. sentences like *There wasn't much he couldn't do*). In this table, adopted from Wolfram and Christian (1976), three different symbols are used to represent the operation of the rules; *1* is used to indicate the categorical operation of negative concord (i.e., it is used in all cases where it might be used), *X* is used to indicate that it is used variably (i.e. it sometimes applies but not in all cases), and *0* is used to indicate that it is never used.

English Dialect(s)	Post-Verbal Indefinites	Pre-Verbal Ind/Neg. Aux.	Negative Inversion	Neg. Aux. Across Clauses
Standard English	0	0	0	0
Some Northern White Varieties	X	0	0	0
Other Northern White Varieties	X	X	0	0
San Juan English	X	X	0	X (?)
Laguna English	X	X	0	X (?)
Some Southern White Varieties	X	X	X	0
Appalachian English	X	X	X	X
Vernacular Black English	1	X	X	X

Table 4.2 Comparison of San Juan English and Laguna English with Other Varieties of English

Table 4.2 indicates that SJE and LE are quite alike in the types of negative concord that are found. By the same token, however, they are not unlike other varieties of English in their use of negative concord. Given the continuum nature of negative concord as it has been demonstrated in other studies, these varieties are more divergent than some dialects but less than others in terms of the graduated steps which differentiate non-mainstream varieties from their mainstream counterparts. For example, we see that it is not as different as Vernacular Black English and Appalachian English, but also slightly more divergent than some Northern White varieties. This particular fit in terms of the continuum is not only supported by the qualitative taxonomy of Table 4.2; it can also be supported when we look at the frequency levels of post-verbal negative concord. In Table 4.3 the incidence of post-verbal indefinite concord is given for a range of varieties, along with extent to which the variety may have speakers who are categorical users of multiple negation of this type. Included in this comparison are Puerto Rican English, Vernacular Black English in several different locations, several White northern non-mainstream varieties, and Appalachian English. Although the studies are not comparable in all respects, it does give a realistic picture of some of the similarities and differences among the varieties.

Varieties of English	% Multiple Negation	Number of Categorical Negation Users Out of Total Number of Subjects
Puerto Rican English		
East Harlem (NYC, 10-20 years old)	87.4	12/27
Vernacular Black English		
Jets (NYC, 10-20)	97.9	11/13
East Harlem (NYC, 10-20)	97.8	7/10
Detroit		
(10-20)	74.5	7/16
(above 30)	49.8	0/8
White Northern Nonstandard English		
Inwood (NYC, 10-20)	81.0	2/8
Detroit (10-20)	47.6	0/6
Appalachian English		
(10-20)	65.7	1/15
(20-40)	68.2	0/5
(above 40)	53.1	0/5
San Juan English		
(10-20)	74.5	2/6
(above 30)	42.9	0/8
Laguna English		
(10-20)	66.5	0/5
(above 30)	20.9	0/9

Table 4.3 Comparison of the Extent of Post-Verbal Negative Concord for Representative Non-Mainstream Varieties of English

As indicated in Table 4.3, the frequency levels of multiple negation are more in line with midland white non-mainstream varieties of English (such as Northern white or Appalachian English) than they are with more divergent ethnic varieties such as Vernacular Black English or Puerto Rican English. The variable nature of multiple negation is most evident in midland varieties, as it is with SJE and LE.

Where data is available on the age level distribution of multiple negation, the pattern of LE and SJE matches other varieties in that adolescents and teen-agers realize it more frequently than the older generation. We should caution, however, that the reasons for this age differentiation in the representative varieties may not necessarily be identical. In the case of other varieties, there is evidence the difference is attributable to a type of age-grading within the life cycle of an individual. That is, a given speaker may use more multiple negation during adolescence and reduce its incidence in adulthood, perhaps as a function of the social stigmatization of the pattern. In the case of SJE and LE, however, the situation may be quite different. We previously speculated that the incidence of multiple negation among some older speakers may be a function of their acquisition of English subsequent to the ancestral language (including aspects related to general acquisitional strategies and language transfer), whereas its usage in the younger generation is not as reasonably explained on this basis. The increased incidence of multiple negation among the younger generation and the clear-cut parallels that it has with other non-mainstream varieties clearly points toward a diffusional explanation for the current generation. Of course, it may well be the case that the diffusional evidence for the younger generation simply supports the continuation of a pattern transmitted by the older generation, which originated multiple negation on a different basis. When the total configuration of language contact and generational differences is considered, the different sources may well complement each other in explaining the continuation and extension of the pattern.

4.2.3 The Use of ain't

As we have noted in our examination of ain't usage in SJE (Section 3.2.6.4), the linguistic significance of this lexical item is minimal, but its symbolic status as a shibboleth of stigmatized language usage is sometimes quite prominent. As we detailed previously, it has typically been cited as a correspondence of isn't aren't, and haven't/hasn't. Examples of its usage for isn't and aren't can be documented for both SJE (7a,b) and LE (8a-c). It can also be found for first person singular forms, as in (9a,b), although its standard English correspondence is not as clear in these cases, since amn't, the expected direct correspondence, is not a current form of contracted negation in English.[1]

(7) a. Rocky *ain't* in here (183:511)
b. ... well, it *ain't* her fault (16:674)
(8) a. you *ain't* gonna get nowhere around the world (14:1248)
b. that one *ain't* here (16:1238)
c. I kinda think it *ain't* (17:115)
(9) a. I *ain't* doing anything (16:1067)
b. This time I *ain't* losing -- I *ain't* losing (16x,Side 2:138)

The distribution of *ain't* usage in SJE and LE can be seen in Table 4.4. The tabulation here is made in terms of two basic categories, *ain't* for the *haven't/hasn't* auxiliary and *ain't* for *isn't/aren't*. Only actual cases of *isn't/aren't* or *haven't/hasn't* are considered as potential cases of *ain't* since it is not clear that other variations of copula + negative (e.g. *have not, 've not*) can be considered as genuine potential cases in which *ain't* might occur.

	Age	No. Subj.	Ain't/aren't isn't	Ain't/haven't hasn't	Total	% ain't
San Juan:	10-19	(8)	1/4	0/8	1/12	12.5
	20-39	(5)	0/4	0/12	0/16	0.0
	40-59	(5)	0/5	0/13	0/18	0.0
	60 +	(5)	0/3	0/2	0/5	0.0
Laguna:	10-19	(9)	16/23	0/8	16/31	51.6
	20-39	(4)	0/16	0/7	0/23	0.0
	40-59	(2)	0/2	0/1	0/3	0.0

Table 4.4. Comparison of ain't Usage in San Juan and Laguna English for Four Different Age Groups of Speakers

There is a striking similarity with respect to the use of *ain't* in SJE and LE. In both cases, its predominant usage corresponds to *isn't* and *aren't* and no cases of its use for *haven't/hasn't* are found. Although Stout (forthcoming) attests a case of *ain't* for *haven't* in LE, his overall conclusion is the same as ours, namely, *ain't* is used almost exclusively as a correspondence for *aren't/isn't*.

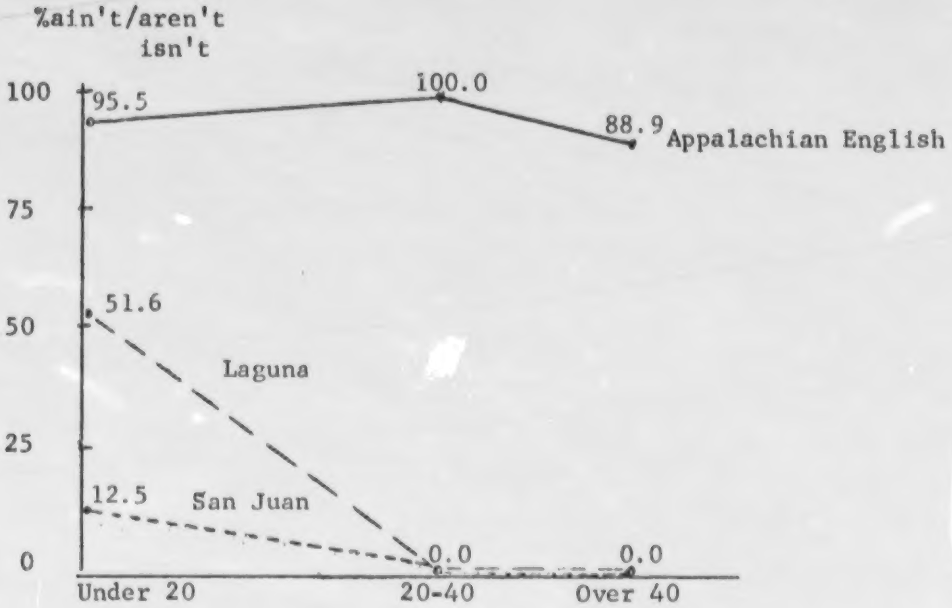
Given the options of *ain't* usage found in varieties of English, LE and SJE fit in the array indicated in Table 4.5. In this display *X* stands for the use of *ain't* (either variable or categorical) and *0* stands for the categorical absence of *ain't*:

	ain't:: *isn't/aren't*	ain't:: *hasn't/haven't*	ain't:: *didn't*
Standard English	0	0	0
San Juan English, Laguna English	X	0	0
Appalachian English	X	X	0
Vernacular Black English	X	X	X

Table 4.5 Structural Distribution of *ain't* Usage for Different Varieties of English

As demonstrated in Table 4.5, which indicates an implicational relationship for *ain't* usage, SJE and LE fit into the continuum one step removed from standard varieties. Implicational relationships exist in the sense that the use of *ain't* for *didn't* implies its use for *hasn't/haven't*, and its use for *haven't/hasn't* implies its use for *aren't/isn't* while the converse does not obtain (i.e. *ain't* and *hasn't/haven't* does not imply *ain't for didn't* and *ain't* for *isn't/aren't* does not imply its use for *haven't/hasn't*).

SJE and AE are not only similar in their structural distribution of *ain't* usage. There is also a striking similarity in the distribution of *ain't* among the population. There is a categorical absence of *ain't* usage by older speakers, as only the younger adolescents and teen-agers are found to use the form at all. This is quite unlike the distribution that has been found in other varieties. Compare for example, the age distribution of *ain't* usage as found in Appalachian English compared with that found in SJE and LE. This is done in Figure 4.3.



(figures adapted from Wolfram and Christian 1976:116)

Figure 4.3 Distribution of ain't and isn't/aren't Usage for Different Age Levels in Three Varieties of English

The contrast indicated in Figure 4.3 is quite sharp. Both LE and SJE are apparently quite unlike a variety like Appalachian English in their use of ain't across different age levels, although they are very much like each other in that older speakers do not use ain't. How do we account for such a drastic pattern of differentiation? In our earlier discussion of ain't in SJE (Section 3.2.6.4), we suggested the possibility that the transference of traditional type of prescriptivism along with the context of English acquisition (viz. the introduction of English upon entering school) might account for this avoidance of ain't.

Stout (forthcoming) has shown that the reduced incidence of *ain't* correlates with variables representing more traditional cultural patterns, such as grandparents in the home, continued residency on the reservation, and so forth. Such factors would appear to support the validity of citing traditional culture as a factor inhibiting *ain't* usage, as well as the diffusional base for *ain't* usage by some members of the younger generation. In line with this observation, we must also note that the younger generation seems to be much more susceptible to the diffusion of certain lexical items from other non-mainstream varieties. We already discussed the use of associative plurals such as *and them*, and the second person plural form *you guys*, which were much more typical of younger speakers (cf. Sections3.2.8.5, 3.2.8.6). Other features could be added to this, such as the use of interjective *man* as (*So, man, I went to the store and found this shirt*) or *big ole* as an adjective of "endearment" (e.g. *There was this big ole sheep out there*), and so forth.

It seems apparent, then, that the presence of *ain't* among younger speakers and its absence among older speakers is symptomatic of a more general pattern of age differentiation. Younger speakers in both communities are apparently much more susceptible to the linguistic diffusion of items found in other non-mainstream varieties. Older speakers indicate resistance to such influence by comparison. The evidence, however, suggests that this pattern is not one which simply mimics the type of age-grading cycle found in other varieties where teenagers may also distinguish themselves from adults by their use of particular lexical items. The historical situation of language contact and English acquisition leads to the conclusion that, unlike other varieties, the older generation never went through a comparable age-grading phenomenon. Instead, the evidence points to age differences as a reflection of a genuine "generational difference". This designation follows the distinction of Wolfram and Fasold (1974:89) between *generation differences* -- older generations not undergoing changes that affected younger generations -- and *age-grading* -- appropriate changes within the life history of an individual, to be repeated by subsequent generations.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Aspects of variation in negative formation are among the most widespread of socially diagnostic features of American English. The investigation of this variation in SJE and LE shows striking parallels. This is evidenced both in the structural types of patterns revealed and the general distribution of these features within the two communities. Both communities reveal the same types of negative concord patterns and the age-related differences are similar, although there are differences in frequency levels of usage. This is also the case for the use of *ain't*. We have suggested that the patterns of negative concord are, at the least, reinforced for the younger generation by diffusion from more general patterns of non-mainstream varieties. The evidence for attributing *ain't* usage to diffusion is even greater, since it is an isolated lexical item.

That these two communities should show such similar patterns is not necessarily attributable to any direct transmission between these varieties. It could well be the case that the similar language contact histories and current language situations have simply promoted a parallel type of adaptive language strategy. Quite clearly, "typical" nonstandard English features such as multiple negation and *ain't* usage have been integrated into the emerging variety of English spoken by the current generation. The extent to which these features are revealed in these varieties, however, is not nearly as great as those found in some other representative varieties of non-mainstream English. These features approximate the patterns of non-standard white midland varieties more than other ethnic or social varieties, although there are obvious qualifications which need to be made in this regard.

4.3 Unmarked Tense in Laguna and San Juan English

As noted earlier (Section 3.2.1), unmarked tense is a characteristic which is cited frequently in the discussion of commonality in Indian English varieties. Although there is considerable anecdotal citation of such forms in different settings, there remains little rigorous comparison of this phenomenon. Any serious treatment of cross-dialectal similarities among these varieties must therefore consider this characteristic.

There are two major questions which need to be addressed in the comparison of tense in the two varieties under consideration here: (1) what are the actual similarities and differences in the realization of unmarked tense in the varieties of English represented here and (2) what accounts for these similarities and differences. The first question is an empirical one, which can be answered largely on the basis of the descriptive facts, whereas the second question is, of necessity, more speculative in nature. At any rate, an investigation of both of these questions in this context may have implications for the comparison of varieties in a context considerably larger than the one in focus here.

As a starting point, we can set forth the various types of constructions in which past tense is not marked in LE, as we did in our previous discussion of unmarked tense in SJE. In all of the examples given below, we would expect the past tense to be overtly realized in mainstream varieties of English for one reason or another (e.g. structural co-occurrence restrictions, discourse constraints on temporal relations, etc.). In examples 10(a-d), there is no apparent marking of past tense on the main verb.

(10) a. The boys useta chop wood, and then sometimes, when somebody *tells* on you, you know, that you were talking Indian, that's where the fight comes in. (58:6)

b. And then we played with sardine cans, you know, just lined them up in long strings and *take* those for little wagons; and then we useta shoot marbles. (59:2)

c. But they, in those days, they really *make* you do it (34:24)

d. I went to Indian school, that's the time I *see* a lot of students having dates and all like that. And that's where it came about, I guess, having a boyfriend (60:13)

Unmarked past tense forms can also be found in LE with forms of *be*, whether *be* functions as a main verb or an auxiliary. Examples of this pattern also match those found in SJE, as is indicated in examples 11(a-c):

(11) a. We useta play hunters, where the boys go hunting and they'd be gone for awhile and the women are preparing, just, you know, all kinds of things (48:3).

b. He went down and looked in the kitchen and here all those fruits are smashed and everything, the milk was on the floor 14:7

c. You know, in those days airplanes are kinda shaped just as a-- like a board (34:8)

Along with the absence of overt tense marking for be+ing auxiliaries, we also find unmarked tense on other auxiliaries. We therefore also observe unmarked past tense forms for have+en perfect forms 12(a,b), do support 13(a,b)., and modals such as can 14(a,b) and will 15(a,b).

have+en

(12) a. And then I heard that some people used these charcoals that they use for cookouts, you know, that kind of,--I don't know. I have never heard of it, but just lately I heard that someone used it (60:9)

b. We were out there, just watching to see how much they have grown (51:3)

do support

(13) a. We learned how to get along with things that we don't have. (58:15)

b. Sometimes, where there's a big meeting, they don't usually get home till it gets a little dark or something like that; I remember those days (34:16)

can

(14) a. Well, in olden days, I think you can really tell because I think the Acomas were always great in making their designs and putting them on their pottery. (60:12)

b. I useta talk to, you know all the old folks and, try to be nice to them, and, you know, treat them real nice and, so they can think that, you know, I was nice and everything. (35:21) will

(15) a. Everytime the phone would ring and her husband would pick up the phone and nobody won't be on there 11:35

b. You were put in the classroom during recess, or you will have to go sweep the restrooms out of something (50:13)

Examples such as those cited above clearly indicate that unmarked tense is a phenomenon which can be observed regardless of the form to which tense may be attached. That is, it is found in main verbs and the range of auxiliaries which would be expected to carry tense within the English system. In this respect, unmarked tense as it is found in LE is quite like that which we have documented for SJE. That it should be observed wherever tense may be marked within the verb phrase is a preliminary indication that it is the category of tense itself rather than some particular form within the verb phrase which is different from the mainstream usage of tense. As we shall see below, however, this conclusion is much too general for any serious comparison of unmarked tense in these varieties. Further consideration must include the intersection of phonological processes to account for some unmarked tense, the structural function of tense within the system, and the variable nature of its incidence.

4.3.1 The Intersection of Processes

In our investigation of unmarked tense usage in SJE we concluded that although there was certainly a grammatical basis for many instances of unmarked tense, certain phonological processes also resulted in surface forms not marked overtly for tense. The three phonological processes mentioned were (1) consonant cluster reduction (2) would contraction and deletion and (3) final /Id/ deletion. With respect to our comparison we naturally want to determine whether these same processes are operative in LE to account for some cases of tense marking.

We can anticipate our discussion of word-final cluster reduction (cf. Section 4.6) by noting that the operation of word-final consonant reduction in LE is a process independent of past tense marking. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that some cases of unmarked tense marking involving clusters might be attributable to this process.

Cases such as the following might certainly be accounted for by cluster reduction rather than a grammatical process of tense unmarking.

(16) a. In our time we raise a lotta kids.

b. Something happen a long time ago.

c. We call one of our children to see where they were.

As with SJE, such examples cannot be considered uniquely explained as the result of a phonological process since tense unmarking affects many items where the form does not end in a consonant cluster (cf. (10) through (15) above.) The extent to which cluster reduction might be accountable for unmarked tense in LE as compared with SJE will be deferred until we look at the quantitative incidence of unmarked tense. Suffice it here to note that cluster reduction must be considered as a potential, but not exclusive source for some cases of unmarked tense LE, just as it was in SJE.

As with SJE, it is also possible to attribute some cases which surface as unmarked tense to the general process of would reduction and deletion. Cases such as 17(a,b) might be interpreted as instances of phonologically-based would contraction and deletion rather than genuine cases of grammatically-based tense differences.

(17) a. And we used to play hunters, where the boys go hunting and they'd be gone for awhile and the women are preparing just, you know, all kinds of things. (49:3)

b. And mostly, guys get together, we useta hunt birds at night in the winter (50:2)

c. Well, there was tents where people come to sell their stuff and then a lot of people tribes, would bring in their...

While admitting this possibility in terms of quite general English phonological processes (Section 3.2.1.1), we concluded that this also could not be an exclusive explanation for unmarked tense in SJE on several formal bases. For example, we noted that there were cases in which verb forms took an inflectional ending, which would not be permissible with would. Would always requires a non-finite form of the verb. Similar cases can be offered for LE as in 18(a,b).

(18) a. My father used to make me a top, top out of those pinon trees, you know, makes one of them, puts a nail in the middle (34:5)

b. The boys useta chop wood, and then sometimes, when somebody tells on you, you know, that you were talking Indian, that's where the fight comes in (58:4)

Without detailing other comparable motivations for concluding that would reduction and deletion cannot be an exclusive explanation for unmarked tense, we can simply observe that SJE and LE are alike in that would contraction and deletion must be admitted potentially as an intersecting explanation for some cases of forms which surface as unmarked tense.

A final phonological intersection admitted in our discussion of SJE was the absence of an unstressed, word-final /Id/. We noted the general English pattern which resulted in such cases, as well as a pattern of unstressed syllable loss in SJE which might support the phonological basis of this process. There are also cases in LE which must be considered as potential instances of the processes operating to reduce some final /Id/ forms phonologically, such as 19(a-c).

(19) a. I don't even remember how it start, cause it was already on (58:8)

b. They useta, somebody usually herd for them during the day (34:15)

c. About three years ago was the last time I plant some (34:8)

Without recapitulating the detailed phonological processes which account for such instances, we can note that this is an additional process which might intersect with the basic grammatical difference which accounts for unmarked tense. Again, this is not an exclusive explanation since there are many forms other than tense ending in /Id/ which are unmarked for tense.

That LE and SJE would share many of the intersecting phonological processes which might account for some cases of forms surfacing without tense is not surprising. For the most part, the processes we described are found to some extent in virtually all varieties of English, with distinctions between varieties found in the restriction and extent of the processes. For example, word-final cluster reduction is found in all English varieties, but some varieties apply it less frequently and restrict the phonological environments in which it may apply. Also, there is evidence that phonological processes reducing /Id/ and contracted forms of would may occur in a wide range of English varieties in more casual speech styles. In addition to recognizing the potential phonological basis of some unrealized tense, it is necessary to recognize different grammatical sources for unmarked tense as well. For example, we noted the possibility of interpreting some cases of unmarked tense forms as irregular verb forms simply undifferentiated in their past form rather than the underlying absence of tense as such. Thus, the form come in a sentence such as Yesterday we come to the fiesta might be considered as a type of irregular verb form which uses the same form in the past and non-past tense, extending the class of verbs such as put, set, etc. to be more inclusive than is found in standard varieties of English. While such a possibility cannot be eliminated as a potential source of explanation, two arguments can be raised against this type of verb class redistribution as a primary process in accounting for unmarked past tense. One is the fact that some forms take inflectional endings restricted to non-past forms in contexts which would clearly call for a past form, such as (20).

(20) I never taught him but he learned it himself, if he comes in real hungry, real thirsty, and if some other person just came in...(59:23)

If this were an undifferentiated past form rather than a form unmarked for tense, we would not expect a non-past inflectional ending such as -s. Therefore, we cannot simply attribute such cases to an expanded list of undifferentiated past forms in LE, just as we could not for SJE.

Secondly, the fact that the absence of tense marking is found throughout the verb phrase, including all the auxiliaries and copula be, militates against an interpretation of differences simply due to an expanded list of undifferented verb forms in LE. While we may not be able to eliminate potential intersection of surface forms unmarked for tense because of an expanded list of verb forms undifferentiated for tense in LE, it hardly seems plausible to ascribe our primary explanation to this source. This is as it was in the case of SJE.

The investigation of unmarked tense forms in LE and SJE clearly indicates that, although there are certainly some intersecting phonological processes which may account for some cases of non-realized past, and some other grammatical processes which may intersect to some extent in both varieties, the varieties share certain properties of tense differentiation which set them apart from mainstream varieties of English and some non-mainstream varieties of English which have been focused upon in the recent sociolinguistic literature. The precise distribution of such cases in two varieties must start from this preliminary qualitative observation.

4.3.2 Variability in Tense Marking in Laguna and San Juan English

As we have observed in our previous discussion of unmarked tense, it is a highly variable phenomenon, fluctuating with the realization of the regularly marked tense pattern found in mainstream varieties of English. Any comparison of unmarked tense in LE and SJE, therefore, must consider the quantitative dimensions of unmarked tense realizations. Having demonstrated certain qualitative similarities in the previous section, it is necessary to see if similarities still obtain along a quantitative dimension.

As a first step in our comparison of the extent of unmarked tense in the two varieties, we can examine the incidence of unmarked tense based on certain distinctions set up in our previous discussion of tense marking in SJE. To begin with, we can look at the incidence of unmarked tense according to several different types of verb classes. In Table 4.6 we present for each individual in our selected LE sample the incidence of unmarked tense for three classes of verbs: (1) non-cluster forming main verbs (2) be and (3) have. As with our previous tabulation of unmarked tense, the first category includes main verbs formed irregularly (e.g. go/went, bring/brought), verbs adding a d to the verb base (e.g. stay [d], mow [d] or an [Id] (e.g. trade [Id], rate [Id]. The form be includes both main verb (e.g. He is/was here a long time ago, He is/was talking to his brother yesterday, He is/was teaching school at the time). Tabulations for have also include both main verb (e.g. They have/had sheep at the time, They have/had a lot to do in those days) and auxiliary functions of have in perfect constructions (e.g. *He have/had spoken only Indian before he went to school.* *They have/had thought they were finished at the time*).

In Table 4.7, the total percentage figures for the four different age groups of LE speakers are compared with the figures previously given for comparable groups of SJE speakers. In the case of SJE, the figures are taken from Tables 3.1 and 3.3 in Section 3.2.1.2 since the tabulations include both main verb and auxiliary functions for *be* and *have*.

Interview Number	Non-Cluster Main Verb Non P/Tot	%	*be* Non-P/Tot	%	*have* Non-P/Tot	%
			10-19 Year Old			
10	6/207	2.9	1/134	0.7	1/8	12.5
11	3/131	2.3	0/117	0.0	0/11	0.0
22	5/69	7.2	0/53	0.0	1/12	8.3
4	1/30	3.3	0/22	0.0	0/9	0.0
14	1/98	1.0	3/45	6.7	0/8	0.0
Total	16/535	3.0	4/371	1.1	2/48	4.2
			20-39 Year Old			
50	4/52	7.7	4/91	4.4	0/32	0.0
23	4/75	5.3	1/39	2.6	0/8	0.0
72	0/58	0.0	0/50	0.0	0/11	0.0
Total	8/185	4.3	5/180	2.8	0/51	0.0
			40-59 Year Old			
19	6/54	11.1	0/62	0.0	0/9	0.0
35	0/65	0.0	0/43	0.0	1/8	12.5
49	5/119	4.2	1/109	0.9	0/27	0.0
51	3/25	12.0	2/26	7.7	0/8	0.0
58	18/117	15.4	11/81	13.6	1/23	4.3
60	17/80	21.3	5/54	9.3	4/17	23.5
Total	49/460	10.7	19/375	5.1	6/92	6.5
			60 and Older			
34	32/67	47.8	5/45	11.1	15/31	48.4
54	8/122	6.6	0/61	0.0	0/23	0.0
Total	40/189	21.2	5/106	4.7	15/54	27.8

Table 4.6. The Incidence of Unmarked Past Tense for Speakers From Four Age Groups in Laguna

	Non-Cluster Main Verb % Unmarked	**be** % Unmarked	**have** % Unmarked
		10-19 Year Old	
LE	3.0	1.1	4.2
SJE	1.7	0.5	0.0
		20-39 Year Old	
LE	4.3	2.8	0.0
SJE	6.8	0.0	0.0
		40-59 Year Old	
LE	10.7	5.1	6.5
SJE	13.6	5.6	23.7
		60 and Older	
LE	21.2	4.7	27.8
SJE	16.5	4.5	11.8

Table 4.7. Comparison of Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Four Age Groups of Speakers in San Juan and Laguna in Non-Cluster Formed Main Verbs, be and have

There are several dimensions of similarity in SJE and LE which emerge from our examination of Tables 4.6 and 4.7. The distribution of unmarked tense within the two populations clearly indicates it is a phenomenon which is only revealed to any significant extent among older speakers, particularly those in the age groups above 40. For younger speakers, there are only the vestiges of unmarked tense, but some of the older speakers reveal significant levels of unmarked tense in their spontaneous conversation. We hasten to point out that this is not a universal characteristic of older speakers in both communities, and a comparison of the individual figures in Table 4.6 for Laguna and those in Table 3.1, Section 3.2.1, for San Juan reveals considerable individual variation. In both communities however, the younger generation shows a consistent pattern of little or no unmarked tense usage, indicating much less individual variation among speakers than the older speakers. We shall return to the basis of such a pattern later in our discussion. At this point, it is sufficient to note that the pattern of age differentiation in the two varieties of English is quite similar.

In terms of the structural constraints on the incidence of unmarked tense, we also find the general pattern of distribution similar. Quite typically more unmarked tense can be expected on non-cluster main verbs and have as opposed to be. This pattern is more apparent, of course, among those age groups which have a significant level of unmarked tense to begin with, such as the group above age 60.

In comparing total figures for the groups of speakers as we have done in Table 4.7, we must view the percentages with some caution, since there is sometimes considerable individual variation among speakers. It is therefore instructive to compare isolated individual speakers in order not to draw conclusions on the basis of scores obscuring the level of dispersion. In Table 4.8, we have taken the three individual speakers in each community with the highest overall incidence of unmarked tense and compared the incidence of unmarked tense for the three verb types delimited in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 above.

	Speaker No.	Non-Cluster Main Verb		*be*		*have*	
		Non-P/Tot	% Unmarked	Non-P/Tot	% Unmarked	Non-P/Tot	% Unmark
LE	34	(32/67)	47.8	(5/45)	11.1	(15/31)	48.4
SJE	106	(43/81)	53.1	(14/52)	26.9	(10/24)	41.6
LE	60	(17/80)	21.3	(5/54)	9.3	(4/17)	23.5
SJE	130	(13/59)	22.0	(1/67)	1.5	(8/22)	36.4
LE	58	(18/117)	15.4	(11/81)	3.6	(1/23)	4.3
SJE	102	(7/40)	17.5	(2/48)	4.2	(1/7)	14.2

Table 4.8 Comparison of Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Non-Cluster Formed Main Verbs, *be*, and *have* for Three Speakers in Laguna and San Juan with Highest Overall Incidence of Unmarked Tense

The figures for the three speakers in each community with the highest overall incidence of unmarked tense indicate that the regular pattern observed above is not simply a function of the combined scores. Unmarked tense is most frequently realized on non-cluster main verbs, and, with one exception (Speaker 58), have functions like main verbs rather than be. The structural inhibition of be on unmarked tense is a pattern which is clearly indicated on both a group and individual level. The linguistic similarity in the quantitative dimensions of unmarked tense for SJE and LE on a group and individual level are indeed striking.

The preceding tabulation indicates strong similarities for SJE and LE speakers with extensive unmarked tense usage, but it can also be shown that there are similarities even among those with less extensive usage. We previously observed (cf. Table 3.2) that the phonological basis for unmarked tense tended to be more prominent for younger speakers than older ones in SJE. Specific evidence for this was found in that fact that verbs which formed their past tense through the addition of /Id/ accounted for a higher proportion of unmarked past for younger speakers compared with older ones. To show the same relationship in LE, we can compare the proportion of unmarked tense involving /Id/ in relation to the total number of unmarked past forms for each of the age groups, as we did for SJE in Table 3.2. The comparison of the proportion of /Id/ formed verbs realized as unmarked past is given in Table 4.9.

	SJE		LE	
Age Group	No. of Unmarked Tense with /Id/ Total Unmarked	%	No. of Unmarked Tense with /Id/ Total Unmarked	%
10-19	6/11	54.5	4/16	25.0
20-39	3/9	33.3	4/8	50.0
40-59	11/73	15.1	4/49	8.2
60 and Older	3/19	15.8	6/40	15.0

Table 4.9 Comparison of Incidence of Unmarked Past Forms Involving /Id/ in San Juan and Laguna

Despite the limited number of examples in some cases, the similarity in patterning is quite apparent. In both varieties, the prominence of the unmarked tense involving /Id/ is increased for younger speakers. Given the reasonableness of phonological interpretation of /Id/ absence (cf. Section 3.2.1.1) it seems quite apparent that the phonological explanation accounts for many of the vestigial cases of unmarked tense still found among younger speakers.

Another dimension of phonological intersection which we mentioned earlier concerns word-final verb suffixes which result in the formation of a consonant cluster (e.g. stop[t], raise[d], learn [d]. For SJE (Section 3.3.1), we observed that the phonological process of word-final cluster reduction was an essential process within the variety, and had to be considered as a potential source for some instances of unmarked tense involving final clusters. By comparison, cluster reduction (cf. Section 4.6) is not nearly as prominent in LE. In our earlier discussion, evidence for phonological intersection in SJE came from the fact that surface tense unmarking was much more frequent when the verb form involved a cluster as opposed to verb forms which did not involve a cluster. Also, cluster reduction was highly influenced by the surrounding phonological context (e.g. following vowel versus non-vowel), whereas non-cluster verbs do not reveal such sensitivity to the surrounding phonological context in their realization of tense.

Given the intersection of the phonological process of cluster reduction with the grammatical process of tense unmarking demonstrated for SJE, it is instructive to compare this potential intersection for SJE and LE. This is of particular significance since it can be shown (cf. Section 4.6) that cluster reduction is not nearly as extensive in LE as it is in SJE. In Figure 4.4, the incidence of unmarked tense for verbs involving clusters is compared with main verbs not involving clusters in SJE and LE. Tabulations for clusters are limited to the context of a following vowel, since this is the environment where any difference in the communities would be most likely to appear.

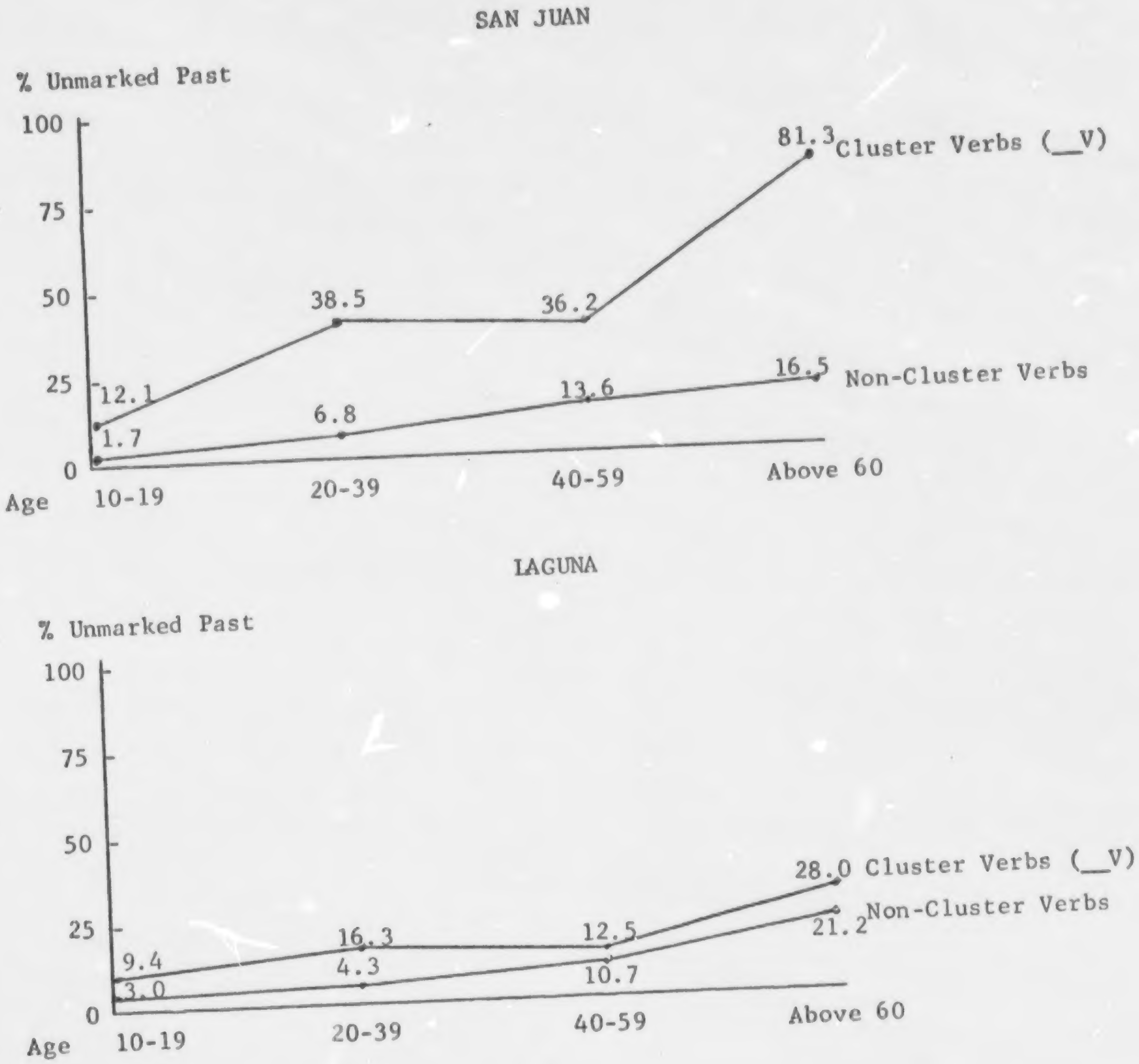


Figure 4.4 Comparison of Unmarked Tense for Past Forms Resulting in a Cluster (before a Following Vowel) and Non-Cluster Forms in Laguna and San Juan English

The contrast between the two varieties is quite apparent in Figure 4.4, particularly for the older groups where the uniqueness of the varieties is typically most obvious. In the case of SJE, cluster reduction is a process intersecting in important ways to account for the absence of overtly marked tense in the surface forms. In the case of LE, this intersection is not nearly as apparent. This is, of course, due to the fact that SJE typically evidences cluster reduction as a general phonological process among older speakers, whereas LE does not. The difference is not in the extent of tense unmarking as such, but the intersection of the phonological and grammatical basis accounting for it.

One final, but important dimension of unmarked tense needs to be compared for LE and SJE, namely, the correlation of unmarked tense with the semantic feature of habituality. We previously observed that the semantic context of habituality was an important structural constraint which favored the incidence of unmarked past tense in SJE. In Table 4.10, we have tabulated the incidence of unmarked past tense forms in the context of habituality as compared with non-habitual events which took place in some prior time frame. This matches the previous tabulation made for SJE in Table 3.5, Section 3.2.1.2. Since we have already established differences between be and non-be forms, we have maintained this categorization here. The procedures for tabulation adopted here match those for our previous tabulation in SJE for the sake of the comparability. For convenience here, summary figures for the different age groups in San Juan (from Table 3.5) and Laguna are given in Table 4.11.

	Main Verb				be			
Interview No.	Non-Hab Non-P/T	%	Hab Non-P/T	%	Non-Hab Non-P/T	%	Hab Non-P/T	%
				10-19 Year Old				
10	6/211	2.8	2/9	22.2	1/120	0.8	0/14	0.0
11	3/139	2.2	0/2	0.0	0/113	0.0	0/4	0.0
22	1/63	1.6	5/18	27.8	0/41	0.0	0/12	0.0
4	0/21	0.0	1/18	5.5	0/14	0.0	0/8	0.0
14	1/100	1.0	0/7	0.0	2/38	5.3	1/7	14.3
Total	11/534	2.1	8/54	14.8	3/326	0.9	1/45	2.2
				20-39 Year Old				
50	0/30	0.0	4/54	7.4	0/27	0.0	4/64	6.3
23	2/60	3.3	2/23	8.7	0/14	0.0	1/25	4.0
72	0/63	0.0	0/6	0.0	0/39	0.0	0/11	0.0
Total	2/123	1.6	6/83	7.2	0/80	0.0	5/100	5.0
				40-59 Year Old				
19	0/39	0.0	6/24	25.0	0/38	0.0	0/24	0.0
35	0/51	0.0	1/17	5.9	0/28	0.0	0/15	0.0
49	1/87	1.2	4/59	6.8	0/60	0.0	1/49	2.0
51	1/14	7.1	2/19	10.5	0/5	0.0	2/21	9.5
58	4/77	5.2	15/63	23.8	0/35	0.0	11/46	23.9
60	2/46	4.4	19/51	37.3	1/19	5.3	4/35	11.4
Total	8/314	2.5	47/233	20.2	1/185	0.5	18/190	9.5
				60 and Older				
34	7/41	17.1	40/57	70.2	0/27	0.0	5/18	27.8
59	2/98	2.0	6/47	12.8	0/35	0.0	0/26	0.0
Total	9/139	6.5	46/104	44.2	0/62	0.0	5/44	11.4

Table 4.10 Incidence of Unmarked Tense in Non-Habitual and Habitual Past Tense Contexts for Four Age Groups of Laguna English Speakers

	Main Verb				be			
	Non-Habitual Non-P/T	%	Habitual Non-P/T	%	Non-Habitual Non-P/T	%	Habitual Non-P/T	%
10-19 Year Old								
SJE	0/602	0.0	5/73	6.8	1/375	0.3	1/65	1.5
LE	11/534	2.1	8/54	14.8	3/326	0.9	1/45	2.2
20-39 Year Old								
SJE	0/104	0.0	6/46	13.0	0/74	0.0	0/47	0.0
LE	2/123	1.6	6/83	7.2	0/80	0.0	5/100	5.0
40-59 Year Old								
SJE	17/473	3.6	72/155	46.5	3/213	1.4	16/155	7.5
LE	8/314	2.5	47/233	20.2	1/185	0.5	18/190	9.5
60 and Older								
SJE	7/99	7.1	13/47	27.7	3/69	4.3	3/64	4.7
LE	9/139	6.5	46/104	44.2	0/62	0.0	5/44	11.4

Table 4.11 Comparison of Incidence of Unmarked Tense in Non-Habitual and Habitual Past Tense Contexts for Four Age Groups of San Juan and Laguna Speakers

The examination of Tables 4.11 and 4.12 indicates that habituality is a semantic factor which clearly favors unmarked past tense for LE just as we found for SJE. The constraint on unmarked tense is more prominent with main verbs than be, but the constraint appears to be operative regardless of the verb type. As we would expect, the constraint of habituality is also more prominent among older speakers where tense unmarking is much more frequent to begin with. It does appear, however, that the vestigial remains of tense unmarking in younger speakers have still retained this structural constraint to some extent. Although the frequency levels may differ, it is quite clear that habituality favors tense unmarking in both SJE and LE. In fact, the difference for main verbs is quite dramatic for both communities with unmarked tense typically at least three times as great in habitual contexts as it is in non-habitual ones. Furthermore, this pattern is not simply a function of comparing group scores as vis-a-vis individual ones. A comparison of the three speakers in each group with the highest overall incidence of tense marking, as given in Table 4.12, indicates that the group pattern is simply reflective of the pattern found for individual speakers.

	Speaker	Non-Habitual Non-P/T	%	Habitual Non-P/T	%	Non-Habitual Non-P/T	%	Habitual Non-P/T	%
LE	34	7/41	17.1	40/57	70.2	0/27	0.0	5/18	27.8
SJE	106	3/35	8.6	47/64	73.4	1/23	4.3	12/39	30.8
LE	60	2/46	4.4	19/51	37.3	1/19	5.3	4/35	11.4
SJE	130	5/54	9.3	14/22	63.6	0/47	0.0	1/20	5.0
LE	58	4/77	5.2	15/63	23.8	0/35	0.0	11/46	23.9
SJE	102	2/31	6.5	6/16	37.5	0/26	0.0	2/21	9.1

Table 4.12 Comparison of Habituality Constraint for the Three Speakers in Laguna and San Juan with the Highest Overall Incidence of Unmarked Tense

Whereas we cannot conclude that habituality uniquely correlates with unmarked tense for any of the individual speakers, just as we concluded on the basis of group scores, the forcefulness of the constraint is quite apparent.

Like SJE, LE reinforces the notion of past time habitual contexts through the co-occurrence of a number of adverbs, such as the quasi-modal useta, and temporal phrases such as in those days, before in the old times, during our time and so forth. LE examples comparable to those in SJE are given in 21(a-e).

21. a. I useta talk to, you know, all the old folks and try to be nice to them and, you know, treat them real nice so they can think that, you know, I was nice and everything (35:21)

b. In those days, they really make you do it (34:24)

c. I think in those days, long time ago, we have to make our own play things (34:6)

d. They eat things that we never eat before, like sunflower seeds (19:17)

e. Well, in olden days, I think you can really tell because I think the Acomas were always great in making their designs and putting them on their pottery (60:12)

LE is even like SJE in that the most frequently co-occurring overt temporal markers are useta and phrases such as in those days/times.

The preceding discussion has clearly demonstrated impressive similarities in terms of unmarked tense in the varieties of English spoken in San Juan and Laguna. While the specific frequency levels may differ from speaker to speaker on an intra- and inter-community level, the structural details and relations on a relative level are indeed quite similar. It is difficult to avoid any conclusion other than one which admits the important dimensions of such a similarity.

4.3.3 The Source of Similarity

The preceding discussion has demonstrated an impressive similarity in the use of unmarked tense in SJE and LE along two dimensions. First, we have seen that there is an impressive parallel in how unmarked tense is structured within the system. That is, the variable usage of unmarked tense and the constraints on its variability are quite analogous. In both cases, the semantic constraint of habituality favors unmarked past, and the grammatical class of main verbs is favored over forms such as be. Second, we have seen that its distribution within the population is quite similar. Generally, speakers over 40 are the most likely to reveal unmarked tense (although we must be careful not to imply that all speakers in this age category will indeed reveal it). The youngest group of speakers (10-20), on the other hand, characteristically has little or no incidence of unmarked tense. While such parallels can hardly be attributed to chance, we must be careful to point out that there is more than one possible explanation for such a similarity.

One primary explanation we must consider is the historical language situation which was found in the San Juan and Laguna communities. We have seen, at various points, that English was the second language for the majority of our older speakers. Profiles of language usage in both communities clearly indicate that many older speakers were not exposed to English until its imposition in the school, while the Indian language remained the dominant language of conversation in the home. Given this situation historically, the role of language contact must be given important initial consideration as a possible source. Strategies of second language learning are sufficiently well-documented to predict that tense marking would frequently be unrealized, regardless of the language background of the speaker (e.g. Frith 1977:72 ff). This is simply an expected stage in the adaptive process that inevitably accompanies the learning of a language.

The variable tense marking, from the standpoint of second language learning, is quite explicable. Furthermore, the apparent fossilization of unmarked tense at a variable stage is not unexpected. While there is ample evidence to document unmarked tense as an inevitable stage in the general strategy of second language acquisition, studies of such phenomenon typically have not treated the semantic and grammatical constraints favoring tense unmarking which we have observed here. This does not, however, mean that they could not emerge from such a strategy. As we have noted previously, the structure of the English verb system and the general nature of adaptive processes in language learning would tend to support the adaptation of the system in the ways we have found here for SJE and LE. As we noted earlier, (Section 3.2.1.3) the possibility of interpreting unmarked tense in habitual contexts for main verbs, for example, as derived from would deletion makes this a natural type of adaptive process in English. Given the habitual meaning of would in so many past tense contexts of English, habituality could be seen as a by-product of the modification, as well as the favoring of unmarked tense on main verbs vis-a-vis be. In terms of the structure of the English system there is, then, a quite reasonable explanation for such a similarity apart from any ancestral language considerations.

Unfortunately, we do not have comparable studies of variable aspects of unmarked tense in a range of different second language acquisition settings to serve as an adequate empirical base for such a conclusion. Those studies of quantitative and structural aspects of unmarked tense which are available (e.g. Frith 1977) have not considered this dimension. The inspection of the available data from this perspective does not, however, suggest that habituality is a significant constraint in accounting for the increased incidence of unmarked tense, although it is difficult to insure comparability in tabulations. We thus lack an adequate empirical base for concluding that the constraint of habituality can be explained simply on the basis of a general second language acquisition strategy. On the other hand, we cannot totally discount this possibility, since there is no strong empirical evidence against such an interpretation. We simply lack evidence supporting or rejecting this possible explanation.

Even if we admitted the reasonableness of explaining similarities in terms of the general strategy of second language acquisition, it would not necessarily eliminate the possibility of language transfer converging with this explanatory source. We have previously pointed out that Tewa, the ancestral language of speakers realizing unmarked tense in San Juan, contains a distinct category of habituality as an integral part of its tense-aspect system (cf. Section 3.2.1.3). Furthermore, its overall time-aspect system focuses on relationships quite different from those represented in the English past-non-past grammatical distinction. Although Keres, the ancestral language of Laguna speakers exhibiting unmarked tense, is genetically quite distinct from Tewa, it is typologically similar in that it also overtly marks a type of action occuring habitually or customarily over a period of time (Miller 1965:130). This is structually similar to that indicated for Tewa. Given the typological similarities of the ancestral languages, it is then quite reasonable to view the parallels as a product of language transfer historically. Of course, these would be complementary to language adaptation strategies regardless of language background if these acquisition strategies could be supported by other evidence. In reality, the interaction of transfer and general language acquisition strategies can only be determined by looking at situations of language background where the source languages exhibited a tense-aspect system quite different from those found here, so that this question must remain unresolved at this point. At this stage of discussion, we can only conclude that neither general language acquisition strategies nor language transfer can be eliminated as a source of explaining the similarity of unmarked tense in LE and SJE. In fact, we would speculate that it is very likely these sources would reinforce each other in development of the systems.

A final factor to be considered in the examination of sources is the possibility of diffusion. We should remember here two prominent facts concerning the context in which English was learned by the majority of our speakers who indicate extensive use of unmarked tense in both communities. First, it should be remembered that many older speakers were first exposed to English when they were sent to school. Secondly, there were often different ancestral languages spoken by other residents at the various boarding schools. It was not a situation in which the ancestral languages of students were necessarily homogeneous.

Given the circumstances under which English was learned, it is quite possible that similarities could be developed and reinforced among speakers from different groups, even if the ancestral languages were structurally different. We thus have another potential source which offers an explanation. Again, we must realistically consider the fact that this explanation would interact with the explanations previously described. Whether one of these explanations is primary vis-a-vis the others is a question that can only be answered by comparing this situation with situations which alter the essential socio-cultural and structural linguistic variables considered here.

The previous discussion of similarity in LE and SJE focuses on the structural dimensions of unmarked tense, including the variable dimensions of structural constraints. But we mentioned previously that there was another important dimension of similarity, namely, its sociolinguistic distribution within the communities. The similarity in the generational distribution, as reflected by our differentiation on the basis of age, is a recurring theme throughout our discussion of unmarked tense. Such similarity is best seen as a realization of similar language contact situations in the two communities.

We have already seen that the two communities were quite similar in relation to the order and context of language acquisition for the older generation (i.e. above 40). They are also similar in that the 20 to 40 year old group represents a transitional one and the younger generation (10-20) typically learned English as a dominant language. Given this situation, one would predict that normative English tense marking patterns might level off and be reduced drastically for the current generation. This observation would also appear to suggest the prominence of the language contact situation in explaining unmarked tense for older speakers, since there appears to be a direct correlation of unmarked tense incidence with the order of language acquisition. In fact, older speakers who have a reduced incidence of unmarked tense usage are speakers who have earlier and more extensive exposure to English. The historical and present language contact situation, then, seem most prominent in explaining the similarity of unmarked tense in SJE and LE.

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that the explanation of tense differences in Indian varieties of English eludes simplistic explanation. Only a detailed consideration of all possible sources and a comparison of situations which differ in crucial details linguistically and socially can ultimately determine the exact role of the various processes in the resultant systems. Many qualifications still need to be made, but we have taken a first step in coming to an explanation consonant with all the facts of language, general and specific, and the sociolinguistic situation in which language develops and adapts. While we may not have resolved the case of similarity in LE and SJE to our complete satisfaction, we have, at least, issued a serious caution to those explanations of similarity among Indian varieties which do not consider all the relevant factors in arriving at an explanation.

4.4 Plurals in San Juan and Laguna English

Plural marking is an area of variability for many non-mainstream varieties of English, including both San Juan and Laguna English. It is also a feature which differentiates between varieties according to specific structural characteristics of plural marking and the extent to which various forms are realized. The following discussion will compare plural usage in SJE and LE to determine what similarities or differences exist between the two varieties. We will consider two aspects of plural usage, absence of the plural suffix and other types of nonstandard plurals, as we did in the discussion of plurals in SJE (Section 3.2.8).

4.4.1 Plural Absence

The absence of a plural suffix occurs to some extent in both varieties. This refers to the cases where a plural noun is used but the -Z suffix is absent, as in these instances from the San Juan (22) and Laguna (23) samples:

(22) a. Their throat were ... (104:16)
b. A lot of kid (102:12)
(23) a. these guy were ... (10:12)
b. all the concert at ... (49:9)
c. six time (11:6)

The overall level of absence for SJE is fairly low, with individuals ranging from 0 to 30 percent nonstandard forms, but the level for LE is even lower, with the range for individuals only between 0 and 9 percent.

We can demonstrate the overall rate of absence for LE and check for phonological influences on the rate of absence with the figures in Table 4.13. In this table, we tabulate the rate of plural absence for 16 LE speakers according to characteristics of the phonological environment following the plural suffix and the form of the suffix itself. The following environment may be a consonant, represented as ___C (as in things like), a vowel, represented as ___V (as in things in) or a pause represented as ___// (as in things ##). The suffix has three forms, -/s/ (rocks), -/z/ (games), and -/Iz/ (roses). Table 4.13 also shows the composite figures for the SJE sample (from Section 3.2.8.1) for ease of comparison.

Suffix	Following Environment	Laguna		San Juan	
		Abs/Pot	% Abs	Abs/Pot	% Abs
-/s/	___C	2/105	1.9	5/79	6.3
	___V	1/109	0.9	2/101	2.0
	___//	3/109	2.7	3/83	3.6
-/z/	___C	3/573	0.5	9/448	2.0
	___V	4/411	1.0	13/362	3.6
	___//	7/484	1.4	22/433	5.1
-/Iz/	___C	0/35	0	2/35	5.7
	___V	1/42	2.4	0/25	0
	___//	0/44	0	2/42	4.8
Total		21/1912	1.1	58/1608	3.6

Table 4.13 Frequency of Plural Absence for Laguna and San Juan English

From the figures in Table 4.13, we can make two general observations. First, the role of phonological influence on plural absence is very small, if it exists at all. This is the case for both varieties. We concluded earlier that plural absence is a grammatical process in SJE. The results shown in Table 4.13 lead us toward the same conclusion for LE, since there is no apparent influence from the following environment or from the form of the suffix. Secondly, we can see that although the overall rate of plural absence is quite low in both varieties, the rate for SJE is consistently higher than that for LE.

In Section 3.2.8.1, we found that there was a non-phonological influence on plural absence in SJE which we can examine as well for LE. For nouns preceded by a quantifier, as in four books or many chairs, the frequency of plural absence was higher than for other nouns; however when the noun is a measure noun, such as dollars, weeks or inches, the rate was lower. So that we can compare the two varieties on this dimension, we tabulate the amount of plural absence in these categories for each of the members of the Laguna sample as we did for the individuals in the San Juan sample in Section 3.2.8.1 . These figures are found in Table 4.14 here and an overall comparison of the two varieties by age group is given in Table 4.15.

Age Group	Speaker Number	Quantified Noun Abs/Pot	Quantified Noun %	Measure Noun Abs/Pot	Measure Noun %	Other Abs/Pot	Other %	
10-19	10	12/63	19.0	0/2	0	0/66	0	
	11	2/35	5.7	0/1	0	0/44	0	
	53	0/45	0	0/4	0	0/53	0	
	4	0/22	0	0/3	0	0/65	0	
	1	1/22	4.5	-	-	0/50	0	
Total			8.0		0.0		0.0	3.2
20-39	50	0/51	0	0/3	0	1/157	.6	
	23	0/56	0	0/12	0	0/104	0	
	72	0/34	0	-	-	0/67	0	
Total			0.0		0.0		0.3	0.2
40-59	19	1/27	3.7	0/5	0	0/86	0	
	35	0/26	0	0/10	0	0/76	0	
	49	1/41	2.4	0/5	0	0/147	0	
	51	0/16	0	-	-	1/77	1.3	
	58	0/14	0	0/7	0	1/104	1.0	
	60	0/22	0	0/7	0	0/72	0	
Total			1.4		0.0		0.4	0.5
60+	34	0/26	0	0/12	0	1/68	1.5	
	59	0/11	0	0/4	0	0/90	0	
Total			0.0		0.0		0.6	0.5
TOTAL		17/511	3.3	0/75	0	4/1326	0.3	

Table 4.14 Incidence of Plural Absence in Laguna English, By Quantified Noun, Measure Noun, and Other.

Age Group	Noun Category	San Juan		Laguna	
		Abs/Pot	%	Abs/Pot	%
10-19	Quantified Noun	0/71	0	15/187	8.0
	Measure Noun	0/13	0	0/10	0
	Other Noun	1/345	0.3	0/278	0
	Total		0.2		3.2
20-39	Quantified Noun	2/58	3.4	0/141	0
	Measure Noun	0/11	0	0/15	0
	Other Noun	4/288	1.4	1/328	0.3
	Total		1.7		0.2
40-59	Quantified Noun	12/94	12.8	2/146	1.4
	Measure Noun	0/62	0	0/34	0
	Other Noun	15/371	4.0	2/562	.4
	Total		5.1		0.5
60+	Quantified Noun	14/60	23.3	0/37	0
	Measure Noun	1/19	5.3	0/16	0
	Other Noun	9/216	4.2	1/158	0.6
	Total		8.1		0.5
TOTAL		58/1608	3.6	21/1912	1.1

Table 4.15. Incidence of Plural Absence for San Juan and Laguna English, By Quantified Noun, Measure Noun, and Other.

From Table 4.15, we see that the higher rates of plural absence in LE are found in the 10-19 year old age group and, on the linguistic dimension, when a quantifier precedes the noun. On the whole, with the exception of one speaker, plural absence is minimal. When we compare the two varieties in Table 4.15, we can make several observations. The presence of a quantifier favors plural absence and the presence of a measure noun disfavors absence in both LE and SJE. On the linguistic dimension then, the two varieties are similar, although quantitatively, plural absence is much greater in SJE.

Considering the dimension of age in Table 4.15, the situation in the two varieties is quite different. In SJE, the rate of plural absence increases as age increases, from 0.2 percent in the 10-19 year old group to 8.1 percent in the group over 60 years of age. The age groups from Laguna, on the other hand, show basically the reverse trend, with the youngest group having the greatest amount of plural absence. In addition, we noted in Section 3.2.8.1 that there appears to be a division by age between those under 40 and those over 40, with the older speakers exhibiting considerably more plural absence. More individual speakers had some plural absence in the over 40 group than in those under 40 (see Section 3.2.8.1). For the LE sample, if there is any division at all, it occurs at age 20, with the younger speakers showing greater plural absence. The age groups over 20 all show frequencies of absence less than 1 percent. In terms of individual behavior, there does not seem to be any concentration of individuals with substantive plural absence in any age group.

Because of the lack of a differentiation by age group in LE paralleling that found in SJE, the suggested account of plural absence, given in Section 3.2.8.3, would not apply here. Our explanation there relied on the fact that speakers had learned English as a second language. It also relied on certain other aspects of behavior with respect to plurality in SJE in addition to plural absence. For the most part, these other features do not occur often in LE, further reinforcing the differences between the varieties.

4.4.2 Other Aspects of Plural Marking

There are several types of plural marking patterns in LE which do not fit the category of plural suffix absence. We find some instances of irregular plurals used nonstandardly, including *those mens* (10:10), *deers* (10:13) and *two mans* (11:1). All of the cases occur in the speech of the youngest speakers (10 and 11 year olds), which leads to the suggestion that this may be the vestige of a developmental phenomenon. Another nonstandard form which is limited to the younger speakers is the use of *mines*, as in *Mines is purple* (11:17) (in a discussion of favorite colors). This is again limited to the same speakers as the regularized irregular plurals and is probably developmental. Such regularizations are commonly found in the acquisition of language, and may persist beyond the earlier development stages for some items.

There are two other types of formations that speakers in more than one age group of the LE sample use. One is the use of *kind* in contexts where the standard form would have the plural suffix, most frequently in the phrase *all kind a*. Instances of this include *all kind a questions* (1:20) and *different kind of things* (53:16). While this usage occurs to some extent in the 20-39 year old age group, it is most frequent among the youngest speakers (3 of 5 in the youngest group use it, while 1 of 3 in the 20-39 group do). The second type of non-standard form is used by members of all age groups in the LE sample and involves adding the plural ending to the phrase *each other*, as in: *bought each others pop* (50:22), *chasing each others in here* (60:16) and *beating each others up* (19:8). This construction also occurred frequently in the SJE sample and in Section 3.2.8.2 we suggested that the suffix may reflect the plurality of the referent.

Finally, there are some instances of plural marking related to particular plural concepts. These are somewhat restricted to individual speakers, but sufficient to suggest a subvariety which is characterized by the formation. One such case is the use of the noun *pottery* as a count noun, as in the *Laguna potteries* (60:12). This particular usage is quite widespread in SJE as well. Other singular instances also seem to involve some shift in the category of the noun, as in: *won't get too much of the sandstorms* (50:20), *a whole bunch of breads* (49:13), and *all those stuff* (60:20). The latter examples are simply mentioned as interesting features in the speech of individuals. This type of usage is prevalent among older

SJE speakers (Section 3.2.8.2) which may indicate that these individual speakers of LE share a common influence with SJE speakers. However, since these are isolated cases from individual speakers, it would be hard to substantiate such a claim at this point.

In summary, when we look at plurals in LE as compared with how they are treated in SJE, we can portray LE as generally closer to standard usage in this area. With respect to plural absence, the frequency of cases in which the suffix is absent is lower for LE than for SJE and more evenly distributed throughout the population in the sample. In fact, the entire LE sample resembles to a great extent the SJE speakers under 40 years of age. Both groups have relatively low rates of plural absence and occasional divergent usages in other aspects of plurality. The lack of a generational difference in LE as indicated in SJE may point to the likelihood of the Laguna community members having more widespread contact for a longer time with other varieties of English. A generational difference may have affected LE a generation earlier, or it may not have occurred at all. Or, it may simply be that prescriptive norms of plural usage have simply been given more traditional attention by older speakers in LE vis-a-vis their SJE counterparts. In any event, the current usage of plurals in LE is closer to the standard English pattern than is found in SJE, with only occasional differences in evidence in our sample.

4.5 Subject-Verb Concord in San Juan and Laguna English

The process of marking concord between subjects and verbs in English (or "agreement") is an area of difference between mainstream and many, if not all, non-mainstream varieties. Mainstream varieties follow one pattern of concord (usually identified as the "standard" pattern) while non-mainstream varieties show variation from this pattern in several different directions. For this reason, concord is an interesting feature to examine in SJE and LE to determine how they differ from mainstream varieties, how they compare with each other, and how they compare with other non-mainstream varieties of English. Areas of difference to be explored both in terms of different constraints, or different categories in which it occurs, and in different degrees of variation within a category.

Non-standard forms of agreement marking can be noticed in both San Juan (24) and Laguna (25) English:

(24) a. Their lives is kinda boring (80:6)
b. She make up her own design (106:6)
(25) a. The government don't have that much (4:23)
b. There's three of us that are starting up (23:18)

In an earlier section (Section 3.2.5), we discussed the functioning of subject-verb concord in SJE. This previous discussion forms the basis for the comparison of SJE and LE in this section. For tabulations that are presented, the sample for SJE includes 21 speakers, and the sample for LE includes 16 speakers. In both cases, representatives of 4 age groups are included (10-19, 20-39, 40-59 and over 60 years of age). Accordingly, we consider separately concord with be and concord with non-be verbs as we did for SJE alone. Within each, the treatment of both singular and plural subjects is considered.

4.5.1 Concord with be

We consider be separately from other verbs because the standard pattern of concord is considerably more complex for be, with a larger number of distinctions reflected in the forms of the verb. With pronouns representing these person and number distinctions, the standard forms of be are as follows: I am, it is, we/you/they are; I/it was, we/you/they were. In LE, we observe some instances of concord with be verbs indicated in a nonstandard way, as in:

(26) a. Maybe you was in Albuquerque or some place during that time. (34:11)
b. His nerves was just moving (10:18)
c. There's more teams playing (72:12)

We have seen that SJE also evidences nonstandard be concord (Section 3.2.5.1).

In the examination of SJE concord, we found that nonstandard concord was almost exclusively limited to cases with non-pronominal plural subjects and was much more frequent in the cases where the subject and verb were separated. The term "separated" was used for those cases where a verb and its subject are separated in the surface utterances, either because some material intervenes between them, or because the verb precedes the subject (Fuller explanations for the categories being used are given in Section 3.2.5.1). The highest rate of nonstandard concord in SJE occurs with the expletive there/plural subject construction (45/63). In fact, there were only 6 instances of nonstandard concord with be in all other contexts combined.

When we compare these overall figures, we find that the usage of LE speakers is much the same as that of SJE speakers. Table 4.16 presents a summary of this type of concord for LE, with comparable figures for SJE. Since the frequencies for nonstandard forms other than with the there construction are so low in both varieties, we will consider only 2 categories, "there" and "other".

Type of Subject	Construction	Tense	SJE	LE
Singular (3rd person only)	There	Non-Past	0 (0/60)	0 (0/97)
		Past	N	N
	Other/ Separated	Non-Past	0.7% (1/149)	0 (0/96)
		Past	N	N
	Other/Non-Separated	Non-Past	0 (0/830)	0 (0/994)
		Past	N	N
Plural (1st, 2nd 3rd person)	There	Non-Past	73.8% (31/42)	93.8% (75/80)
		Past	66.7% (14/21)	89.7% (26/29)
	Other/ Separated	Non-Past	5.0% (2/40)	5.7% (2/35)
		Past	0 (0/13)	12.5% (1/8)
	Other/ Non-Separated	Non-Past	0.5% (2/399)	0 (0/420)
		Past	0.2% (1/423)	0.9% (3/334)

N = Not tabulated (100% standard)

Table 4.16. Frequency of Nonstandard Concord with be in San Juan and Laguna English.

From Table 4.16 we can see that the general overall behavior of the two varieties with respect to concord with be is quite similar. In both cases, we find a high rate of nonstandard concord for plural subjects in the expletive there construction, with little difference between past and non-past forms. Instances of this type of nonstandard usage for SJE (27) and LE (28) are:

(27) a. There's other places that I'd like to live. (114:3)
b. There was all these worms. (117:30)
(28) a. There's these mirrors you look in (53:11)
b. There was a lot of gardens right close to the village (34:13)

In constructions other than with expletive there, each variety exhibits only 6 instances of nonstandard concord with be, although they are distributed somewhat differently. As can be readily seen from Table 4.16, these 6 instances are in each case a very small percentage of the total number of uses of be in these categories. (For the categories not included, the usage was entirely standard.) Some examples of these other nonstandard concord forms for SJE (29) and LE (30) are:

(29) a. The first one gets to the other end are the winner (106:1)
b. The railroad tracks isn't there anymore. (130:9)
c. What is her folks gonna think? (80:9)
(30) a. ...pay attention to the things that is going on around them (50:9)
b. And then they was chasing him to get the diamond. (11:2)
c. The Indian dances that we have is early spring and early fall. (60:4)

One qualitative difference between the varieties is that SJE indicated no nonstandard concord with pronominal subjects and be, while in LE, there were 2 such instances with past tense be forms (as in 30b). Another difference is that LE exhibited no nonstandardness with be and singular subjects, while SJE had one instance.

Concord with be in the two varieties, then, presents a very similar overall picture. Both varieties show a high incidence of nonstandard concord with expletive *there*, a feature they share with many varieties of English today. There is a quantitative difference for this feature, however, with SJE having 71.4 percent nonstandard agreement with *there* and LE having 92.7 percent. In other constructions with the verb *be*, both varieties show a very low frequency of nonstandard concord, with only 6 instances each. Although these instances are distributed somewhat differently among various types of constructions, the number is too low for any real differences to surface. We may conclude then, that SJE and LE are much alike in the area of concord with *be*. Both show a high rate of nonstandardness with *there* and almost no nonstandardness elsewhere.

4.5.2 Concord with Non-be Verbs

With non-*be* verbs in English, agreement marking is less extensive; it is limited to non-past forms and differentiates only between third person singular subjects and others (*he runs* as opposed to *I/we/you/they run*). The regular suffix for this agreement marking, as we saw in Section 3.2.5.2, has one of three shapes, -/s/, -/z/, or -/Iz/, depending on the final sound of the verb to which it is attached. A small number of verbs do not follow this pattern exactly. For modals, no agreement is marked, so that the same unmarked form is used with all subjects according to the stardard pattern (e.g. he/they/you *will*). With three other verbs, certain changes in the verb stem accompany the addition of the suffix to mark agreement, giving the alternations in *have/has*, *do/does*, and *say/says*. In our discussion of concord then, we will not consider modals and we will separate the three verbs with special agreement features from the others which, according to the standard pattern, have agreement marked by the regular suffix alone.

We will present first a summary picture of this aspect of subject-verb concord in LE, utilizing the same categories as we did in our discussion of SJE (Section 3.2.5.2). The tabulations for the sample of 16 LE speakers are given in Table 4.17. As in SJE, LE shows no variation with 1st or 2nd person subjects so these are not included.

3rd Person Subject		Type of Verb				
		Have	Do	Say	Other Verb	Don't
Non-Separated:	Singular					
	pronoun	0(0/37)	0(0/18)	0(0/12)	0(0/288)	42.9%(9/21)
	Non-pronoun	8.1% (3/37)	0(0/15)	0(0/3)	1.3%(2/152)	60%(9/15)
	Plural					
	pronoun	0(0/91)	N	N	0(0/509)	N
	Non-pronoun	0(0/26)	N	N	0(0/152)	N
Separated:	Singular					
	pronoun	0(0/1)	-	-	0(0/1)	-
	Non-pronoun	0(0/8)	-	-	0(0/14)	-
	Plural					
	pronoun	-	N	N	-	N
	Non-pronoun	25%(3/12)	N	N	0(0/23)	N

- = did not occur

N = Not tabulated (100% Standard)

Table 4.17. Summary of Concord with Non-be Verbs in LE: Percentage of Non-Standard Forms

The figures in Table 4.17 show that nonstandard agreement marking with non-*be* verbs is relatively limited in LE, with the exception of the special case of *don't.* Examples from the LE speakers include:

(31) *Non-separated/singular subject*

a. ...as long as the teacher *have* respect (23:16)

b. It *don't* have to be completely enclosed (50:6)

(32) *Separated/Plural Subjects*.

a. ...some of these guys that'*s* been going (4:16)

b. ...a lot of your boys around here that'*s* heard (23:19)

Other than with the special case of *don't*, there are only 8 instances of nonstandard concord marking on non-*be* verbs in this sample of LE. The incidence in the sample of SJE, where we found 70 such instances, was much higher. Overall then, LE conforms to the standard pattern more closely than does SJE.

We can compare the usage observed in SJE and LE in a general way in Table 4.18 by looking at the overall frequency of nonstandard concord for non-*be* verbs, with *don't* for singular subjects considered separately. We will maintain the distinction between singular and plural subjects since they represent different processes. (Nonstandard agreement for singular subjects is the absence of the regular suffix; for plural subjects it is the addition of the regular suffix.) We will also continue to distinguish between cases where the subject and verb are somehow separated and those where they are not, since this appears to influence the rate of nonstandard marking for plural subjects.

Non-Separated	*SJE*	*LE*
Singular Subject - *don't*	59.5%(22/37)	50.0%(18/36)
Singular Subject - other verbs	9.6%(50/521)	0.9%(5/562)
Plural Subject	0.8%(6/777)	0(0/778)
Separated		
Singular Subject - *don't*	0%(0/2)	50.0%(1/2)
Singular Subject - other verbs	13.0%(9/69)	0(0/24)
Plural Subject	20.0%(5/25)	8.6%(3/35)

Table 4.18 The Incidence of Nonstandard Concord with Verbs other than *be* in San Juan and Laguna English.

The overall comparison of concord marking in the two varieties shows them to be very close in the degree of usage of *don't* with singular subjects, but not as close in how they signal agreement on other non-*be* verbs. In LE, the standard pattern is nearly always followed (in all but 8 of 1399 instances). In SJE, however, there is considerably more usage of alternate forms, accounting for 70 of 1392 agreement situations of this type. We can conclude that, for 3rd person singular subjects, suffix absence is a process that is part of SJE, but is only a sporadic occurrence in LE. For plural subjects, nonstandard concord in both varieties is most likely if the subject and verb are somehow separated in the surface utterance, and it is also more frequent in SJE than in LE.

4.5.3 Comparison of Concord Usage by Age Groups

Based on the distribution of nonstandard concord usage among age groups of SJE speakers, we were able to gain some insight into the agreement process for the variety. At this point, we can similarly examine the usage by age groups of LE speakers and compare this to the pattern for SJE.

Both *be* and non-*be* verbs are included here. In each case, we can distinguish certain categories in our tabulation: for *be*, with plural subjects, we consider cases of *there* separately from others; for non-*be* verbs, with singular subjects, we separate *don't* from the other verbs and we treat non-*be* verbs with plural subjects as a final category. These distinctions are based on the trends noted earlier in this discussion. Four age groups will be identified. The SJE sample includes 21 speakers, divided by age group as follows: 10-19--7; 20-39--4, 40-59--5, 60+--5. For the LE sample, 16 speakers are included, distributed in the following way: 10-19--5; 20-39--3, 40-59--6; 60+--2. Tables 4.19-4.21 present the comparisons of the two varieties by age group for each of the 3 types of concord usage delineated above.

	San Juan		Laguna	
Age Group	There	Other	There	Other
10-19	92.3%(12/13)	0(0/297)	97.0%(32/33)	0.8%(2/251)
20-39	63.6%(14/22)	0(0/193)	95.2%(20/21)	1.0%(2/204)
40-59	61.5%(8/13)	1.4%(4/291)	92.7%(38/41)	0.5%(1/262)
60+	73.3%(11/15)	1.1%(1/94)	78.6%(11/14)	1.3%(1/80)

Table 4.19 Incidence of Nonstandard Concord Usage for be with Plural Subjects for San Juan and Laguna English

	San Juan		Laguna	
Age Group	don't	Other	don't	Other
10-19	75.0%(12/16)	0.4%(1/233)	69.2%(9/13)	0(0/195)
20-39	0(0/3)	1.9%(2/106)	58.3%(7/12)	0.6%(1/171)
40-59	57.1%(8/14)	23.2%(39/168)	14.3%(1/7)	1.3%(2/160)
60+	50.0%(2/4)	25.0%(17/68)	33.3%(2/6)	3.0%(2/66)

Table 4.20 Incidence of Nonstandard Concord Usage for Non-be Verbs with Singular Subjects in San Juan and Laguna English.

Age Group	San Juan	Laguna
10-19	1.2%(2/172)	0.6%(2/337)
20-39	0(0/132)	0.4%(1/283)
40-59	1.7%(6/343)	0(0/532)
60+	1.9%(3/155)	0(0/194)

Table 4.21 Incidence of Nonstandard Concord Usage for Non-be Verbs with Plural Subjects in San Juan and Laguna English

As Tables 4.19-4.21 show, the sample of LE speakers appear to be much more homogeneous than the group of SJE speakers. As we observed in the more detailed discussion of SJE (Section 3.2.5.2), there seems to be a division among speakers over 40 and those under 40, in this SJE sample. The more widespread nonstandard concord usages (with there and don't) occurred with all age groups, but the less typical ones (third person singular -Z absence and nonstandard agreement with plural subjects) are concentrated among speakers over 40. Although there are certain areas where older speakers behave somewhat differently than younger speakers of LE, there is little evidence to suggest a similar generational difference for LE. Overall, the sample of LE shows very little nonstandard concord marking, with the exception of the special cases of there and don't, and in this way the LE speakers in all age groups resemble the younger (under 40) SJE speakers.

Another observation we made in the discussion of SJE concerning the usage with there and don't receives further support from this comparison. Both are associated with nonstandard agreement marking for all age groups in SJE and at fairly high frequency levels. As we noted in the earlier section (3.2.5.2) it appears that the younger speakers of SJE are following patterns more widely used in varieties of English, since nonstandard concord in these two cases is quite widespread. This raises the possibility that their behavior is a result of the process of diffusion, or the influence of other varieties of English. Nonstandard concord with expletive there and plural subjects occurs at even higher levels in the LE sample, with all age groups except those over 60 having an equal or higher incidence of nonstandardness than the youngest SJE speakers (Table 4.19). This fact, coupled with the low incidence of nonstandard concord in other environments (except don't which we will discuss shortly) suggests that concord for LE speakers in general today has been most influenced by other varieties of English (rather than having certain special traits characteristic of that community).

This account is also supported by the fact that don't is the other feature with a high frequency of nonstandard usage by LE speakers. Don't has been shown to exhibit high levels of third singular-*Z* absence in varieties which have no other instances of nonstandard agreement with third person singular subjects. It is a very common feature in non-mainstream varieties. This is the only area in the LE sample, however, where there appears to be a difference between speakers under 40 and over 40 years of age (69 percent and 58 percent nonstandard compared to 14 percent and 33 percent). While there are undoubtedly many possible explanations for this difference, one speculation will be mentioned here. It is possible that the generational difference that appears to exist in SJE is present to a more limited extent in LE as well. One of the features in which it shows up is *don't*. This seems plausible since many of the older LE speakers in the sample have backgrounds similar to the SJE speakers, many learned English as their second language, attended boarding schools and so on. Perhaps through more widespread contacts with speakers of other varieties of English, their variety has become more like the others in features like concord. In the case of *don't*, though, the younger, native speakers of English may share the feature with other varieties, while the older speakers resist the influence somewhat.

4.5.4 Conclusion

In summary, the patterns of concord usage in SJE and LE show both areas of similarity and areas of difference. Both varieties exhibit the most nonstandard concord for expletive *there* with a plural subject (as in *There's a lot of girls that smoke* (1:5))and in the occurrence of *don't* with a singular subject (as in *My brother don't have to*(11:15)). In other environments, the sample of LE contained relatively few instances of nonstandard concord and those that did occur were not concentrated in any particular linguistic context or speaker age group. In SJE, on the other hand, while the younger speakers (under 40 years old) exhibited behavior much like that of the LE sample, the older speakers (those over 40) showed more variation in their agreement marking. With third person singular subjects, they demonstrated the process of *-Z* absence in other environments besides *don't* at fairly substantial levels (as in *My son help me to put the design* (129:4) and *He have eleven kids* (103:1)). They also displayed slightly more nonstandard usage with plural subjects (as in *Their lives is kinda boring* (80:6) and *The people from*

Santa Fe doesn't want it (106:13)), although the differences are not great as with singular subjects.

A possible account for this situation relates to the processes of diffusion and second language acquisition. One might certainly expect that language learning phenomena could underlie the variation in concord marking phenomena for the older speakers. In addition, it is likely that members of both communities have had increasing amounts of contact with other varieties of English in recent years. This could account for similarities with other varieties by the process of diffusion, with younger speakers learning English natively as the ones most likely to be affected but the older speakers influenced as well. In the San Juan sample, this account appears to fit the facts fairly well. The younger speakers have high levels of nonstandardness in just those features common to many varieties and the older speakers share this characteristic and in addition, have a degree of nonstandard concord in other areas that might be attributable to second language learning processes. In LE, however, speakers in all age groups behave like the younger SJE speakers, which may indicate that diffusion is a stronger influence throughout the community, that wider contacts with other varieties of English occurred earlier than in San Juan.

4.6 Consonant Cluster Reduction in San Juan and Laguna English

Our previous discussion of word-final consonant cluster reduction in SJE (Section 3.3.1) demonstrated that although cluster reduction was a widespread characteristic of non-mainstream varieties, it was most reasonable to attribute reduction in SJE primarily to language transfer from the ancestral source language, Tewa. It was evident that cluster reduction in SJE could not be viewed simplistically as the result of diffusion from other non-mainstream varieties in which cluster reduction was also operative. We shall not repeat here the details of our argument for attributing this process to ancestral source language influence (Section 3.3.1.4), but focus on a comparison cluster reduction in SJE with LE. In doing so, we can expand our understanding of the way in which these English varieties might be similar and different with respect to particular linguistic structures.

As we did for SJE, we can start by looking at the frequency of word-final cluster reduction among a representative group of LE speakers. For the sake of comparison, the inventory of clusters considered is identical to the one presented in Section 3.3.1.1. That is, we are concerned with word-final clusters which end in a stop consonant and share the characteristic of voicing among members of the cluster (e.g. *wind*, *wild*, *cost*, but not *belt*, *jump*, or *help*). As with our previous tabulation for SJE, the incidence of reduction is delimited on the basis of several environmental contexts, including the way in which the cluster is formed (i.e. non-*ed*-formed clusters such as *mist*, *find*, *old* and clusters formed through the addition of the -*ed* suffix as in *missed*, *fined*, and *yelled*), and the following context (i.e. followed by a vowel, as in *old apple* or *find apples*, a consonant, as in *old pear* or *find stones*, or a pause of some type, as in simply *old* or *find*). In Table 4.22, the reduction of word-final clusters is tabulated for fifteen speakers representing age levels comparable to those tabulated previously for San Juan. In this Table, the context of a following vowel is symbolized as ___V, a following pause as ___//, and a following consonant as ___C. Table 4.22 gives figures for Laguna comparable to those tabulated for San Juan in Table 3.27. In Table 4.23, we give the summary percentage scores for San Juan and Laguna English, taken from Table 4.22 for Laguna and Table 3.27 for San Juan. No new information is given in Table 4.23; it is simply presented here for convenient reference in discussing the relative similarities and differences in the two varieties.

	Not -ed			-ed suffix		
Speaker Number	___V	___//	___C	___V	___//	___C
			10-19 Year Old			
4	3/23	0/4	18/25	0/6	0/1	2/4
10	12/18	15/23	23/27	5/26	0/8	10/26
53	6/19	1/10	23/27	1/21	0/4	8/17
1	8/18	3/4	19/23	0/2	---	1/1
11	10/27	1/8	19/25	1/19	0/3	3/9
Total	39/105	20/49	102/127	7/74	0/16	24/57
%	37.1	40.8	80.3	9.4	0.0	42.1
			20-39 Year Old			
23	17/36	3/5	25/33	5/18	---	10/14
72	7/28	2/9	23/27	1/18	0/2	5/9
50	8/21	4/7	20/25	2/13	0/3	6/9
Total	32/85	9/21	68/85	8/49	0/5	21/32
%	37.6	42.8	80.0	16.3	0.0	65.6
			40-59 Year Old			
60	8/23	6/15	34/43	0/10	0/2	6/8
35	6/23	2/7	16/26	1/9	0/3	3/7
19	7/18	3/6	20/26	1/7	2/2	3/11
58	20/47	5/9	20/29	6/20	0/2	6/12
49	14/33	3/11	18/27	1/26	2/12	4/12
Total	55/154	19/48	108/151	9/72	2/21	22/50
%	35.7	39.6	89.3	12.5	9.5	44.0
			60 and Older			
34	9/25	8/18	22/31	6/12	---	4/6
59	6/21	3/5	33/41	1/13	0/6	11/16
Total	15/46	11/23	55/72	7/25	0/6	15/22
%	32.6	47.8	76.4	28.0	0.0	68.2

Table 4.22 Word-Final Consonant Cluster Reduction Among Four Age Groups of Laguna English Speakers

	Not -ed			-ed Suffix		
	___V	___//	___C	___V	___//	___C
	% Abs	% Abs	% Abs	% Abs	% Abs	% Abs
			10-19 Year Old			
San Juan	49.4	53.1	90.5	12.1	9.1	63.4
Laguna	37.1	40.8	80.3	9.4	0.0	42.1
			20-39 Year Old			
San Juan	57.1	61.8	88.3	38.5	28.5	75.0
Laguna	37.6	42.8	80.0	16.3	0.0	65.6
			40-59 Year Old			
San Juan	55.3	70.0	89.0	36.2	47.4	60.0
Laguna	35.1	39.6	89.3	12.5	9.5	44.0
			60 and Older			
San Juan	88.2	85.7	98.0	81.3	100.0	91.7
Laguna	23.8	47.8	76.4	28.0	0.0	68.2

Table 4.23 Comparison of Total Percentage Scores for Word-Final Consonant Cluster Reduction in San Juan and Laguna English

Generally speaking, reduction is greater in SJE than LE in all types of environments. The relations between the different linguistic environments, however, are quite parallel. For one, the effect of a following consonant on reduction is greater than the grammatical status of the cluster (i.e. -ed or non-ed suffix). The varieties are also alike in that the pause tends to structure more like a following vowel than a following consonant. The overall picture we get from Table 4.23 is that SJE tends to depart more from the mainstream norm than LE, but in parallel ways.

While the overall picture might give us some insight into comparable aspects of cluster reduction in the two varieties, limiting ourselves to this perspective can obscure some important differences in the distribution of cluster reduction in these two varieties. This is particularly true when the two most diagnostic environments are considered, namely non -ed clusters before a vowel (e.g. west end, find out) and -ed clusters before a vowel (e.g. messed up, lined up). Consider, for example, the relative frequency of cluster reduction in these two environments for the four age groups represented here, given in Figures 4.5 and 4.6.

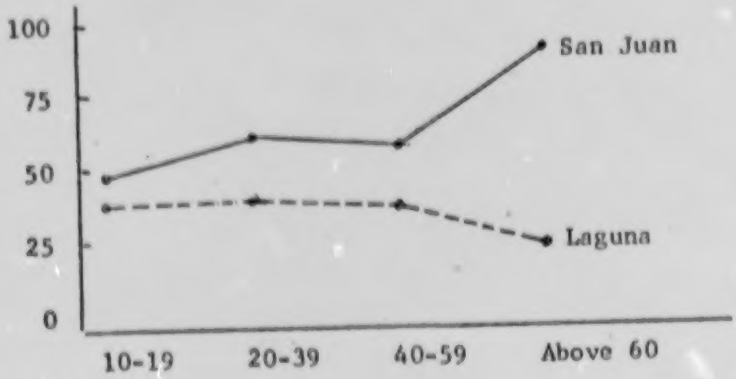


Figure 4.5. Distribution of Cluster Reduction in non-ed Forms Followed by a Vowel for Four Age groups in San Juan and Laguna

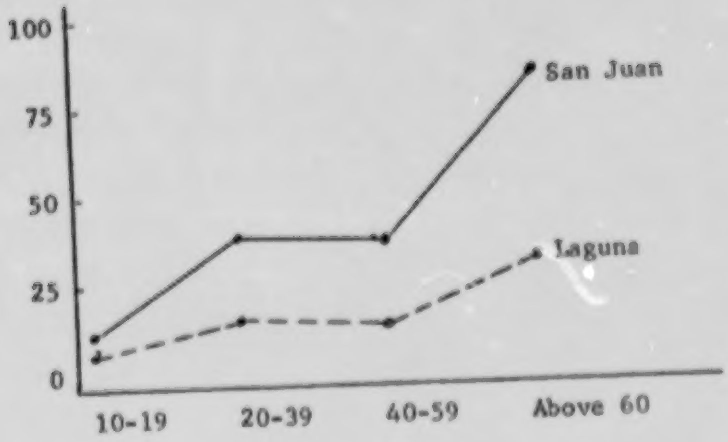


Figure 4.6. Distribution of Cluster Reduction for -ed Followed by a Vowel for Four Age Groups in San Juan and Laguna

When the patterns of Figures 4.5 and 4.6 are considered, some important dimensions of similarity and difference begin to emerge. It is observed that the closest similarity in the patterning of cluster reduction is observed for the youngest speakers. On the other hand, the greatest differences are found among the older speakers. What we have, then, is a pattern of increasing diversity apparently related to generational differences. Whereas the incidence of cluster reduction is fairly comparable across age groups for speakers from Laguna, the pattern is quite different for San Juan, with older speakers clearly demonstrating higher levels of reduction. How do we then account for this differential pattern?

In our earlier discussion of SJE, we noted that the oldest generation of speakers learned English subsequent to their acquisition of the ancestral language, Tewa. The youngest group of speakers typically learned English as a first language, while the middle-aged group represents a transitional group in terms of the acquisitional sequencing of English and Tewa.

Given this context, it was reasoned that the oldest group of speakers would be most consistent in their realization of influence from the source ancestral language, which did not have word-final consonant clusters. By the same token, the youngest group would be expected to be most removed from the ancestral language influence, since it would have a more indirect influence. The middle-aged group would be between these groups, in that some speakers would be more like the older group and others more like the younger group. Although we have run no formal tests of individual dispersion patterns, the examination of individual speakers in Table 3.27 clearly indicated this type of distribution. We concluded, on this basis, that the distributional pattern in terms of generational differences clearly supported the language transfer hypothesis as an explanation for cluster reduction in SJE.

4.6.1 The Source of Similarity and Difference

In order to explain the similarities and differences of SJE with LE, we must again turn to the source language base, in this case Laguna Keres. The historical contact situation in Laguna is quite similar to San Juan in that the older generation learned Keres prior to English and the younger generation English before Keres, with the middle group being transitional in its acquisitional sequencing. In this context, we must ask what the status of final consonant clusters in Keres is, and how this might explain the distributional pattern we have found for our Laguna speakers. Available descriptions of Keres, including Laguna or dialects closely related to Laguna (e.g. Acoma), give some indication of word-final consonantal patterns. We must caution, however, that there are obvious differences in the interpretation of word-final segments. Spencer's (1946:234) description includes the following set of clusters for word-final position in Keres, among others which shall not concern us here:

šp, št, šk, ct (i.e. [tšt]), ck, čk (i.e. [tšk]).

A prominent pattern of final consonant clusters in Spencer's description is a grooved fricative such as s or sh [š] plus a stop, such as p, t, or k. This type of pattern is quite comparable to one of the subtypes of clusters specified in our original listing of clusters in English on which reduction may operate, namely, the pattern involving st, sp, and sk (cf. Table 3.25).

In a later study, Miller analyzes Keres to be without word-final consonant clusters. Although Miller admits word-initial *s* plus stop clusters, he interprets the data on final segments quite differently from Spencer. He treats the clusters in Spencer's analysis as released into a voiceless vowel instead of the aspirated release which Spencer notes for his designated clusters. Spencer and Miller obviously differ in their interpretation of the final segments. Though they differ considerably in their interpretation of final segments, it is important to note that they are in near agreement concerning the phonetic facts of these segments. Compare, for example, statements such as the following:

> Some of the available transcriptions of Keresan sounds in ethnographic reports indicate whispered vowels in final position... Release of final consonants tend to be audibly vocalic. (Spencer 1946:236-37)

> A devoiced vowel after an aspirated occlusive is little more than prolonged aspiration with the proper vowel coloring. Two or more such syllables at the end of a word sound like a final consonant cluster. (Miller 1965:17)

In practical terms, this means that both might agree on the approximate phonetic production of an item like [wi:sp^h] 'cigarette' in Keres. Spencer, however, would insist that it be interpreted as /wi:sp/, with a final cluster structurally, whereas Miller would opt for interpreting it as /wi:spV/, with a final vowel structurally, where the vowel (V) is simply produced as voiceless or whispered. (In this case, it is not entirely clear if Miller would interpret the sequence as /wi:spV/ or /wi:sVpV/, with a voiceless vowel also separating *s* and *p*). Whatever their differences in structural interpretation, it seems quite apparent they would concur that Keres contains word-final sequences whose phonetic production and perception compare favorably with English fricative plus stop clusters such as *st*, *sk*, and *sp*.

By contrast, there is no evidence in Keres of other types of word-final clusters included in our original inventory, such as nasal plus stop clusters (e.g. *nd*), lateral plus stop (e.g. *ld*) and stop plus stop clusters (e.g. *pt*). The delimitation of cluster types available in the source language suggests that one further taxonomic categorization of cluster reduction is in order, namely, the distinction between fricative plus stop cluster versus other types of clusters. Such a delimitation may give us insight into the role of transfer influence on the patterning of cluster reduction. In Table 4.24, the incidence of reduction in terms of these types is given for representative speakers in the San Juan and Laguna corpus. Only one environment is considered here, non-ed forms followed by a vowel. We limit our tabulation to this environment since it appears to be the most diagnostic for examining the differential effect of the reduction process for different cluster types. The fricative plus stop clusters include st, sp, sk and ft, while the non-fricative clusters include nd, ld, pt, and kt. We might have included more clusters if we included those formed through the addition of the -ed suffix (cf. Table 4.22), but these are excluded here due to their possible intersection with grammatical processes accounting for the absence of -ed. Non-ed clusters involve only a phonological process. In addition to Table 4.24, which gives the figures for individual speakers, a graphic comparison of the summary figures for the various age groups for these two cluster types is given in Figures 4.7 and 4.8.

San Juan			Laguna		
Speaker	Fric + Stop Del/T	Other + Stop Del/T	Speaker	Fric + Stop Del/T	Other + Stop Del/T
		10 - 19 Year Old			
85	3/7	12/16	4	1/15	2/8
116	2/10	3/11	10	5/7	7/11
117	0/3	6/10	53	2/9	4/10
150	1/5	7/10	1	4/14	4/4
120	2/5	6/8	11	4/11	6/16
Total	8/30	34/55		16/56	23/49
%	26.7	65.4		28.6	46.9
		20 - 39 Year Old			
94	6/7	2/4	23	5/17	12/19
105	4/4	---	72	2/19	5/9
114	5/7	4/7	50	2/14	6/7
188	0/2	3/9			
189	2/2	2/7			
Total	17/22	11/27		9/50	23/35
%	77.3	40.7		18.0	65.7
		40 - 59 Year Old			
79	4/4	2/2	60	0/20	8/13
80	3/22	12/24	35	0/14	6/9
130	5/9	5/10	19	3/10	4/8
104	6/9	9/11	58	1/20	19/27
106	8/17	14/15	49	0/13	14/20
Total	26/61	42/62		4/77	51/77
%	42.6	67.7		5.2	66.2
		60 and Older			
87	3/3	5/5	34	3/15	6/10
127	2/2	3/3	59	0/7	6/14
102	5/5	2/5			
129	2/2	1/1			
103	3/3	4/5			
Total	15/15	15/19		3/22	12/24
%	100.0	78.9		13.6	50.0
TOTAL	66/128	102/163		32/205	109/185
%	51.6	62.6		15.6	58.9

Table 4.24 Comparison of Final Consonant Cluster Reduction for Fricative + Stop Cluster and Other Consonants + Stop Clusters in San Juan and Laguna

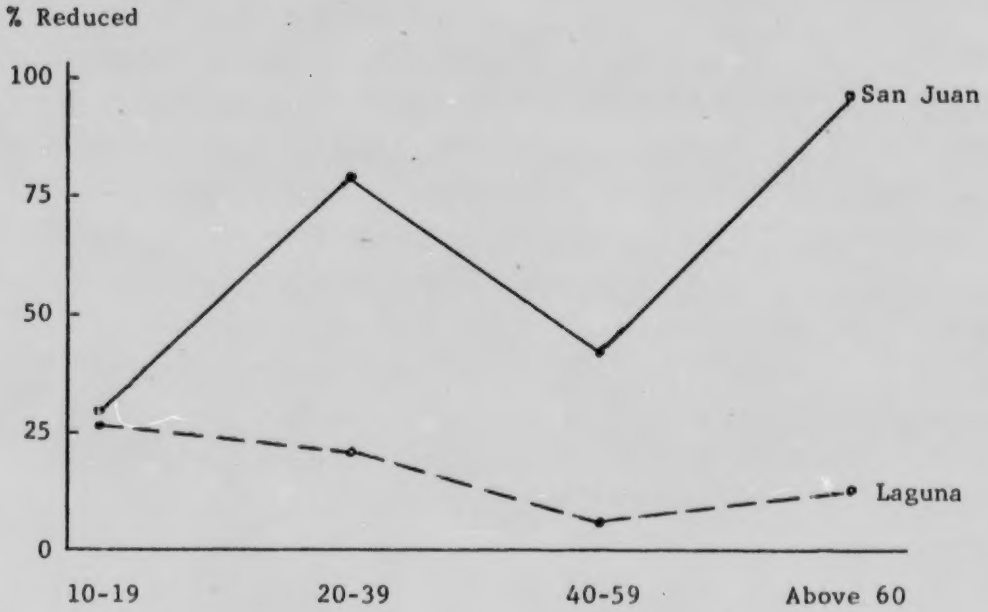


Figure 4.7 Distribution of Reduced Fricative + Stop Clusters across Age Levels in San Juan and Laguna English

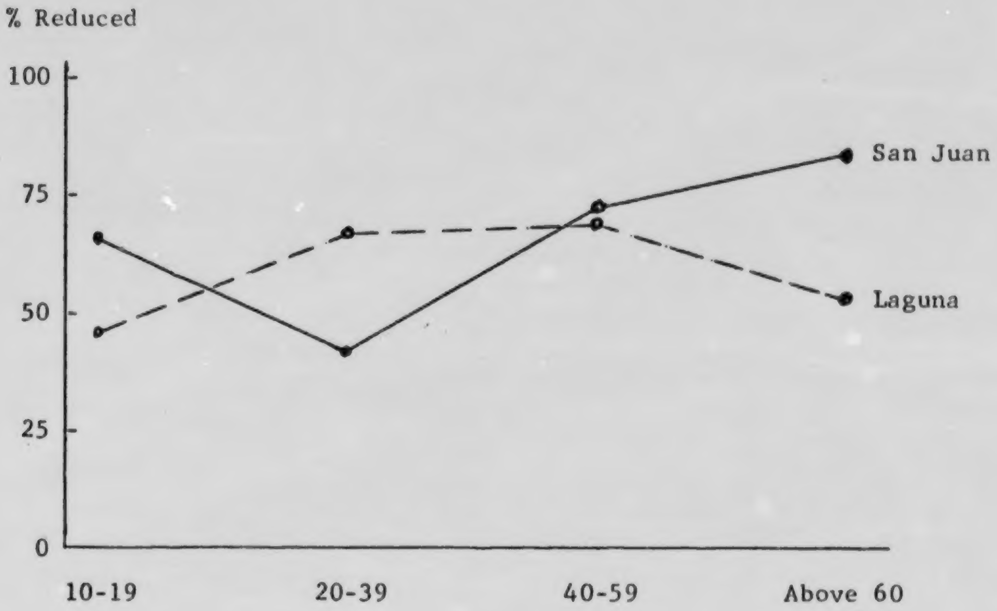


Figure 4.8 Distribution of Reduced Non-Fricative + Stop Clusters across Age Levels in San Juan and Laguna English

The distribution of reduction according to cluster types points to an important generational difference in Laguna and San Juan English. LE, with ancestral language support for retaining fricative + stop clusters, but not other types, shows lower levels of reduction for fricative + stop clusters for older speakers. These speakers, of course, are most likely to evidence direct influence from the ancestral language. Older speakers in SJE, with ancestral language support for reducing fricative + stop clusters show a significantly higher level of reduction than the LE speakers. A consistent difference between LE and SJE is not maintained for other clusters and these do not have a supportive base for retention in either of the ancestral languages. The evidence, then, clearly suggests that cluster reduction for older speakers in San Juan and Laguna is most reasonably explained on the basis of the ancestral language influence. In this context, similarities in its operation may be seen as the result of parallels within the source languages involved, and differences may be explained on the basis of source language differences.

The picture for younger speakers, in particular, those aged 10 through 19, is not nearly as clear. There is an obvious leveling process, and a convergence among LE and SJE speakers. Speakers of SJE and LE are more alike at this age level in their reduction of both fricative + stop and other + stop clusters. We can only speculate here, but it may be the case that younger SJE speakers are restructuring their cluster reduction in a way which is more in line with other non-mainstream varieties of English, while carrying on the process of reduction modeled originally on the basis of ancestral language influence. As suggested elsewhere, we would expect that the more removed speakers are from the direct influence of the ancestral language, the greater the likelihood the transfer process will level off to be more parallel with other varieties of English.

4.6.2 Comparison with Other Varieties

A final comparison of the general pattern of cluster reduction in SJE and LE compares the levels of reduction found in these varieties with those found in other studies of this phenomena. This is done in Table 4.25, where general cluster reduction for the different age groups of SJE and LE is compared with tabulations for other representative English varieties, adapted from Wolfram and Christian (1976:36). The relevant linguistic environments delimited here are non-ed clusters versus -ed clusters and a following vowel versus consonant. Table 4.25 is set up in terms of the increasing frequency of cluster reduction, based on the two most socially diagnostic categories -- non-ed followed by a vowel and -ed followed by a vowel.

	___C		___V	
Language Variety	Non-ed % Red	-ed % Red	Non-ed % Red	-ed % Red
Middle-Class White Detroit Speech	66	36	12	3
Southeast West Virginia Speech	74	67	17	5
Working Class White New York City Adolescent Speech	67	23	19	3
Working-Class White Adolescent, Rural Georgia-Florida Speech	56	16	25	10
Laguna English, Age 40-59	89	44	35	10
Laguna English, Age 10-19	80	42	37	9
Laguna English, Age 60 and Above	76	68	24	22
Laguna English, Age 20-39	80	66	37	16
San Juan English, Age 10-19	91	63	49	12
Puerto Rican English Adolescent Speech, New York City	93	78	63	23
San Juan English, Age 40-59	89	60	55	36
San Juan English, Age 20-39	88	75	57	39
Working-Class Black Detroit Speech	97	76	72	34
Working-Class Black Adolescent Rural Georgia-Florida Speech	88	50	72	36
San Juan English, Age 60 and Above	98	92	88	81

Table 4.25 Comparison of Consonant Cluster Reduction in Different Regional and Social Varieties of English

Table 4.25 reveals that cluster reduction in the LE varieties clusters together at a point slightly more divergent than White non-mainstream varieties, but not nearly as divergent as varieties such as Puerto Rican English and Vernacular Black English. The San Juan varieties show a more scattered pattern, with the youngest group more in line with Laguna, but the older groups more diverse. The oldest group of SJE speakers is the most divergent of all, no doubt due to the extent of influence from the ancestral language.

The SJE and LE varieties are like the majority of other varieties in the way in which environmental effects on reduction are structured -- a following consonant favors reduction over non-ed. As we have mentioned elsewhere (cf. Section 3.3.1.2), this may be reinforced by the fact that the phonologically-based reduction of -ed clusters potentially converges with the grammatically-based absence of past tense marking in the historical influence of the ancestral language.

While Table 4.25 reveals that varieties of SJE and LE may seem to fit neatly into a continuum of divergence among English varieties in the incidence of word-final cluster reduction, we reiterate here that the historical source of this process may be quite different from many other varieties. The influence of the ancestral language is quite obvious in the case of SJE and LE in ways not matched by other varieties of English. That the end result should be quite similar to other varieties in some cases is due to the inherent nature of English word-final clusters and the naturalness of the change reducing clusters, as discussed previously (cf. Section 3.3.1.5). Cluster reduction in LE and SJE is a phenomenon quite sensitive to the historical linguistic heritage of its speakers, with a leveling effect among younger speakers bringing it in line with other non-mainstream varieties.

4.7 Syllable-Final d Devoicing in Laguna and San Juan English

As noted in our earlier description of syllable-final d in SJE (cf. Section 3.3.2), the characteristic of devoicing, particularly the glottal stop realization, is prominent in the comparison of different varieties of Indian English. It is one of the features which turns up repeatedly as an example of general typological characteristic of Indian English varieties, at least in the southwest. We previously cited a number of Indian English varieties where it was mentioned as a prominent phonological characteristic. Its possible occurrence in both LE and SJE is, then, of particular importance in looking at dimensions of relationships between Indian English varieties with respect to general phonological characteristics.

The most typical voiceless correspondence for syllable final *d* in LE, as in SJE, is the glottal stop, as in items such as the following:

(33) a. ha[ʔ] little 'had little' 10:14
b. scar[ʔ] 'scared' 1:15
c. goo[ʔ] Indian 'good Indian' 58:5

In addition to the glottal stop [ʔ] or voiceless stop [t], there are some cases in which there is no consonant realization for syllable-final *d*, as in items such as *woul'be* (58:2), *ha' sheep* (34:12), or *scare' of* (72:6).

In Table 4.26, we tabulate the relative incidence of devoicing and absence for syllable-final *d* for the Laguna sample in a way comparable to the tabulation previously undertaken for the San Juan population (Section 3.3.2.1). That is, the tabulation is limited to post-vocalic syllable-final *d*. We have already seen that post-consonantal syllable-final *d* (e.g. *build*, *find*) is subject to a different phonological process. Three relevant environments are distinguished for our tabulation: (1) when the *d* is followed by a vowel (e.g. *good apple*), sybolized by ____V (2) when the *d* is followed by a pause (e.g. *good ##*), symbolized by____//, and (3) when the *d* is followed by a consonant (e.g. *good person*), symbolized by ____C. Figures are given each of the 16 interviews from Laguna, with tabulations limited to 25 examples of final *d* followed by a vowel and 34 cases for pause and consonant combined. Total tabulations are given according to the four relevant age groups we distinguish for the population.

	___V			___//			___C		
Speaker Number	No. Dev.	Abs.	T.	No. Dev.	Abs.	T.	No. Dev.	Abs.	T.
				10-19 Year Old					
10	7	1	25	4	0	7	21	1	27
11	8	0	25	5	0	9	14	2	25
68	9	0	25	9	1	11	19	2	23
22	10	1	25	4	0	6	22	3	28
1	5	2	9	6	0	6	9	3	12
Total	39	4	109	28	1	39	85	11	115
%	35.8	3.7		71.8	2.6		73.9	9.6	
				20-39 Year Old					
50	1	0	25	0	0	11	2	5	23
23	0	2	24	3	0	9	5	6	25
72	0	2	25	0	0	6	8	6	28
Total	1	4	74	3	0	26	15	17	76
%	1.4	5.4		11.5	0.0		19.7	22.4	
				40-59 Year Old					
19	1	0	12	3	0	6	8	5	28
35	2	0	25	1	0	5	8	4	29
49	7	0	25	3	0	6	16	2	28
51	1	0	19	2	0	5	5	3	29
58	4	1	25	2	0	4	3	7	30
60	0	0	22	1	0	13	5	2	21
Total	15	1	128	12	0	39	45	23	165
%	11.8	0.7		30.8	0.0		27.3	13.9	
				60 - Above					
34	1	0	25	1	0	9	1	4	25
59	3	0	25	1	0	7	2	2	27
Total	4	0	50	2	0	16	3	6	52
%	8.0	0.0		12.5	0.0		5.8	11.5	

Table 4.26 Devoicing of Syllable-Final d for Four Age Groups of Speakers in Laguna

Before comparing the figures for SJE and LE, some discussion of the distribution of devoicing indicated in Table 4.26 is in order. Table 4.26 reveals that devoicing is a prominent feature, but only for the younger population, those in the 10 to 19 year old age range. While there are individuals in the older groups who reveal the significant incidence of devoicing (e.g. Speaker 49), none of the other groups exhibit it as a homogeneous characteristic of the group. On the other hand, the youngest group reveals it as a general characteristic of the group, and none of the represented speakers in this group has less than 50 percent devoicing when followed by a consonant or a pause. The correlation of devoicing with age, then, is quite apparent in this population of speakers. That we have age-grading for a particular feature is not, in itself, surprising, and most of the other structures we have examined have indicated the importance of this dimension. The direction of the age-grading is, however, somewhat surprising in this instance, given the descriptive facts which have traditionally been cited to explain the occurrence of devoicing (particularly glottals) in Indian varieties of English. Typically, the reported widespread incidence of devoicing in Indian English varieties is attributed to the direct influence of an ancestral language, many of which are typologically characterized by this phenomena. Thus Maring (nd) makes the following observation with respect to the English spoken in Acoma, where the Keres dialect is closely related to that of the Laguna ancestral language source.

> When one listens to an Acoma speaking English, he immediately notices a kind of staccato effect on the production of words. This is due to glottalization of both the English vowels and consonants, and, in particular, to a replacement of final English consonants with the glottal stop...This presence of the glottalization can be explained by the fact that over one-third of all Acoma sounds are glottalized and, in particular, every Acoma consonant has a glottalized counterpart. (Maring nd : 1)

While we do not deny the possibility that such a direct type of ancestral language relationship can be found, the facts in Table 4.26 tend to belie such a simplistic explanation. If indeed, the interference relationship were so direct, we would certainly expect the older generation to reveal a higher incidence of devoicing and glottalization than the younger generation, since their first language was clearly Keres. For the older generation, English was learned as a second language, which placed it in a susceptible position with respect to first language transfer. This situation is different from the one found for the present generation of speakers represented by the 10-19 year olds, who have, in most cases, learned English as a first language.

If devoicing is to be seen as a direct type of ancestral language influence, how do we explain its particular distribution across generational groups? Quite clearly, some types of ancestral language influence phonemena are more prominent for the older generation, such as the use of unmarked tense. On the other hand, the distribution of other features indicated that the older generation in our population is more standard than the younger generation with respect to traditional socially diagnostic linguistic variables. Thus, we saw that multiple negation and ain't usage were consistently more prominent for younger speakers than older ones.

The pattern of distribution here tends to match that of the more traditional socially diagnostic features than those which are seen as direct influence from the ancestral language. This does not mean that, historically, the devoicing and glottal realization could not derive from language transfer, but the direct transmission and gradual diminishing of influence among succeeding generations typically demonstrated in such cases simply is not found. What we find it a realignment of this linguistic characteristic in terms of more traditional socially diagnostic features in terms of its distribution within the Laguna population. While other studies of devoicing (cf. Wolfram 1969) have indicated that it is not nearly as socially diagnostic as some variables in other varieties of English, we cannot assume that it will take on this same role in Indian varieties. It should be recalled here that this is one of the features which has almost taken on a stereotyped role in terms of characterization of Indian varieties in the Southwest. Thus, is is quite conceivable that it would be more socially diagnostic in such a context, and thus more susceptible to prescriptive norms of standardness. At any rate, the generational distribution seen for devoicing here does not match that of other features directly attributable to ancestral language influence.

4.7.1 The Variable of Age in Devoicing

At this point, we can compare the incidence of devoicing in the various groups of Laguna speakers with those for the groups of SJE speakers discussed previously. This is done in Figures 4.9 and 4.10. Figure 4.9 details the incidence of syllable-final devoicing when the following item begins with a vowel and Figure 4.10 details it when followed by a consonant (following pause is not considered here).

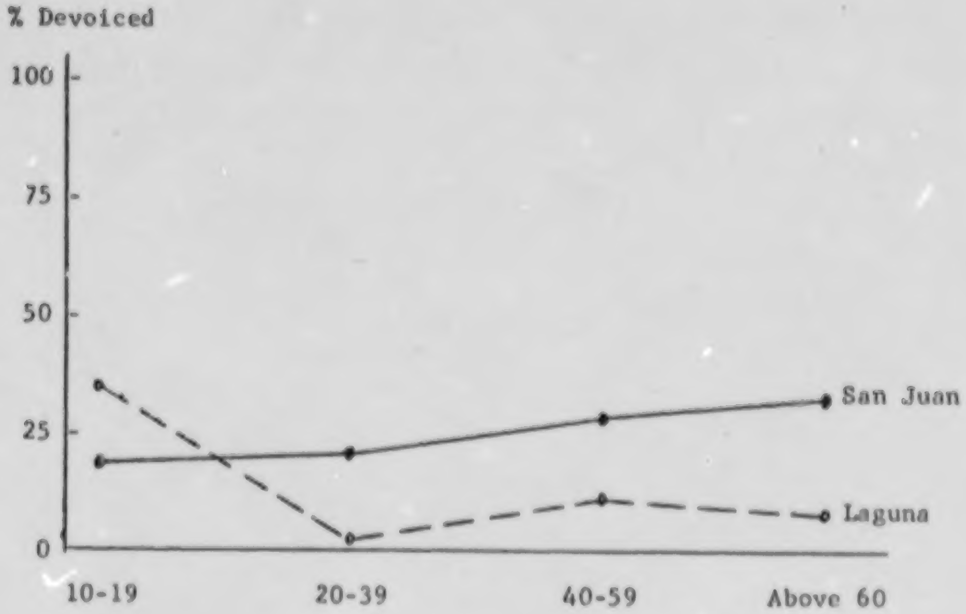


Figure 4.9 Comparison of Devoicing in Laguna and San Juan English: Syllable-Final d Followed by a Vowel

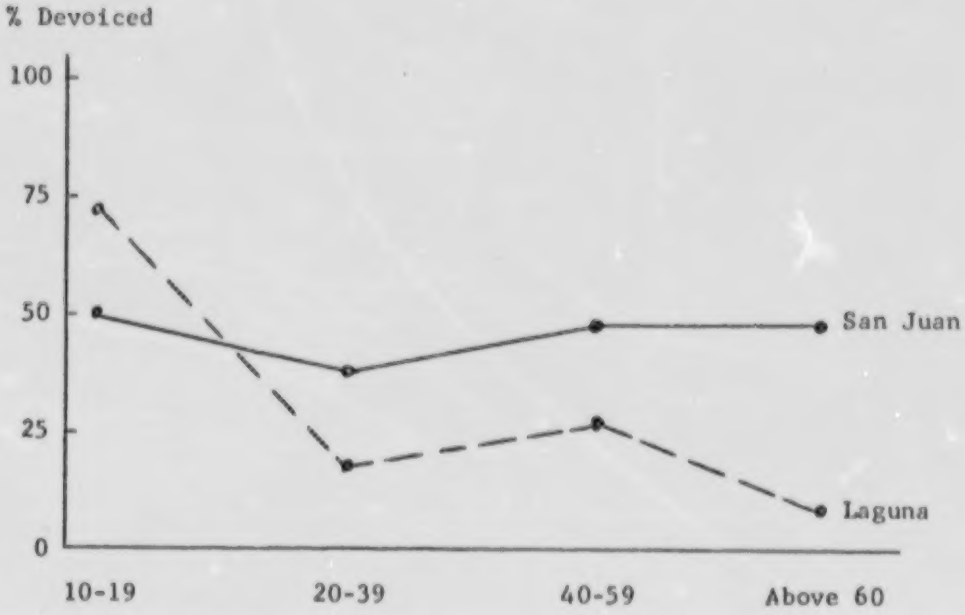


Figure 4.10 Comparison of Devoicing in Laguna and San Juan English: Syllable-Final d Followed by a Consonant

The effect of the generational difference we discussed above is clearly indicated in both Figures 4.9 and 4.10. In fact, the youngest group of Laguna speakers is the one with the highest incidence of devoicing for the entire sample included here. The older groups of Laguna speakers typically reveal a lower incidence of devoicing than their counterparts in San Juan. Although the Laguna youngest group reveals the highest overall incidence of devoicing, it should be observed that the youngest group of San Juan speakers does reveal substantial incidence of this phenomena. There is, however, no prominent generational difference in San Juan which is revealed in so many of the features we have examined. Instead, there appears to be a stablization of this pattern as an ongoing phonological feature of the variety. This suggests a pattern which is now operating somewhat independent of the sequencing of language acquisition (i.e. ancestral language, then English, or, English as a first language). There appears to be a more direct pattern of transmission in the case of the San Juan population than that indicated for the Laguna population. Thus, different paths might have been taken to arrive at approximately the same end result. Quite clearly, the varieties have leveled off, and the current generation of SJE and LE speakers is more similar in syllable-final d devoicing than the previous ones. The evidence suggests, then, that we have a pattern developing here which may be part of a set of features common to certain varieties of Indian English regardless of the historical background.

4.7.2 Comparison with Other Varieties

Before concluding our discussion of devoicing in LE and SJE, we can compare these varieties with other varieties of English for which syllable-final d, post-vocalic d has been examined. This is done in Table 4.27.

	% Abs		% Devoiced		% Non-d Realized	
	___V	___Non-V	___V	___Non-V	___V	___Non-V
Middle-Class White Speech: Detroit	1.3	3.7	0.0	.6	1.3	4.3
Working-Class Black Speech: Detroit	11.5	26.4	8.3	41.0	19.8	67.4
Puerto Rican English - New York City	20.6	57.9	2.6	18.3	23.2	76.2
San Juan English						
10-19 Year Old	4.1	14.8	17.3	50.2	21.4	65.0
20-39 Year Old	0.0	23.4	18.9	38.0	18.9	61.4
40-59 Year Old	1.0	13.5	26.9	48.3	27.9	61.8
Above 60	0.0	15.4	33.3	48.8	33.3	64.2
Laguna English						
10-19 Year Old	3.7	7.8	35.8	73.4	39.5	81.2
20-39 Year Old	5.4	16.7	1.4	17.6	6.8	34.3
40-59 Year Old	0.7	11.3	11.8	27.9	12.5	39.2
Above 60	0.0	8.8	8.0	7.4	8.0	16.2

Table 4.27 Comparison of Consonant Absence and Devoicing for Syllable-Final d in Different Varieties of English

While the SJE and LE varieties are clearly differentiated from the mainstream variety included here for comparison (Middle-Class White Detroit speech), they differ in several ways from the other representative non-mainstream varieties included here. For one, absence of a syllable-final consonant is consistently lower in the SJE and LE varieties in both of the phonological contexts included here. For the younger groups of speakers in SJE and LE, the incidence of devoicing is also higher than other non-mainstream varieties. This is particularly true when the syllable-final d is followed by a vowel. In other varieties examined, devoicing is rare or non-existent when followed by a vowel. The proportional difference between following vowel and non-vowel differences is much lower for SJE and LE than that found in the other non-mainstream varieties, although it is still an important constraining variable on the incidence of devoicing.

We conclude that there are differences to be found in the general devoicing pattern found in SJE and LE varieties as compared with other non-mainstream varieties. We should, however, hasten to remind the reader that the situation in SJE and LE is not totally homogeneous, particularly for older speakers, and it cannot simply be considered a pervasive characteristic of Indian varieties of English even in these settings.

4.8 Conclusion

In the preceding sections, we have compared some representative structures of SJE with those of LE. While the comparison is limited, and many other structures might have been included, this examination can serve as the basis for some general conclusions concerning the relationship of these varieties. The basic question underlying our discussion is the extent of similarity and difference between these varieties, but there are a number of different dimensions which must be considered in arriving at an accurate understanding of this relationship. The descriptive similarity and difference is an empirical question, which can be answered on the basis of the types of comparisons we have conducted here. The historical bases for these similarities and differences is, of necessity, less accessible through descriptive analysis given the alternative sources which might lead to the same structure. There are however, some sociolinguistic considerations which appear to favor particular interpretations of the source of similarity and difference.

On one level, the comparison of LE and SJE as generalized entities is unwarranted given the linguistic diversity within each community. Intra-community diversity of one type or another has turned up repeatedly in our discussions of particular structures. On another level, however, we may ask if particular structures found in some of the varities of SJE can also be found in varieties of LE. The majority of our comparisons of structures in SJE and LE indicated that there certainly are structures that are strikingly similar in these varieties vis-a-vis mainstream varieties of English. For example, we have seen that aspects of unmarked tense, multiple negation, concord, and plural operate in much the same way in these varieties. The admission of these similarities, however, must be qualified in several important ways.

First of all, there are differences in the extent to which particular structures may be found in the varieties. Thus, the overall incidence of a feature such as plural absence is considerably less frequent in LE than in SJE even though it can be found in both varieties. Quantitative differences such as these are not to be taken lightly in view of the fact that varieties of English are often distinguished on the basis of quantitative differences rather than qualitative ones (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:99).

Secondly, there are differences in the distribution of particular items throughout the population, even though varieties of LE and SJE may share particular structures. Thus, word-final cluster reduction may be found in both varieties, but the types of clusters affected by the particular process differ. In SJE, there is no appreciable difference between subtypes of clusters (e.g. l or n plus a stop versus a fricative plus a stop) whereas LE indicated a difference based on subtypes. The overall impression of similarity between varieties, then, is somewhat simplified, and there are particular details of difference which emerge from the analysis. Although we have no experimentally based evidence to support the claim, it is apparent that speakers from LE and SJE should be able to distinguish speakers from these different communities based on the varieties of English spoken in the different locales.

To note some of the differences in detail between the varieties of LE and SJE is not to ignore the many similarities shared by the varieties. This is particularly evident when these varieties are placed side by side and compared with other representative non-mainstream and mainstream varieties. This broader perspective of comparison reveals that the non-mainstream varieties spoken here tend to be closer to each other than other representative non-mainstream varieties. While certainly sharing some of the characteristics of other non-mainstream varieties, such as multiple negation, cluster reduction, concord, and plural absence, they may differ from mainstream varieties in slightly different directions. Thus, the particular pattern of plural absence shows a type of patterning which unites SJE and LE vis-a-vis other non-mainstream varieties where this phenomenon has been studied. And, of course, there are some qualitatively unique aspects of structure revealed in these varieties. The particular patterning of tense absence found here has not been indicated in any of the descriptive accounts of other non-mainstream varieties. Quite clearly, it is erroneous to conclude that Indian varieties of English can simply be lumped together with other non-mainstream varieties of English. While sharing some of the same structures with other non-mainstream varieties of English, there are clearly distinguishing characteristics of these varieties.

If nothing else, the particular juxtaposition of structures in these varieties sets it apart from other non-mainstream varieties of English. At several points we have mentioned co-occurrence patterns which are quite different from other non-mainstream varieties of English. The avoidance of certain nonstandard forms (e.g. ain't, be nonstandard concord) while maintaining others (e.g. multiple negation, plural absence) suggests a pattern which has not been duplicated in some of the traditionally-studied non-mainstream varieties of English. In relation to other non-mainstream varieties, we find a different clustering of nonstandard and standard forms.

Put another way, the traditional implicational patterning of different nonstandard forms found in other studies is not observed here. When the particular patterning of forms is considered along with some unique aspects of the varieties, we can only conclude that the sociolinguistic situation found in San Juan and Laguna is more diverse than an initial glance might suggest.

Although both varieties indicate some degree of traditional non-standard usage, it is observed that the adult LE speakers tend to be closer to the standard English norm than their SJE counterparts. It is possible that this might simply be an artifact of the subject selection, but the pattern appears too consistent to be ignored. It is particularly true of speakers over age 40, and is most prominent in those features which carry general social significance across a wide range of English varieties. For example, the use of multiple negation in the LE group above 40 is consistently lower, as is the incidence of different concord patterning for be and don't.

When the different age groups of speakers in SJE and LE are compared, it is the youngest group of speakers, ages 10-19, which appears to be most similar. In the case of LE, this group is somewhat more nonstandard in terms of general socially diagnostic variables in English (e.g. multiple negation, ain't). At the same time, however, this group is not nearly as prone to indicate some of the unique aspects of these varieties, such as the unmarked tense. When considering the age level differentiation, then, we see that a leveling off is taking place, in which the speech of the younger generation is becoming more like other non-mainstream varieties of English. This is not to say, however, that this leveling process has brought them into total conformity with non-Indian non-mainstream varieties. For example, we saw that the incidence of devoicing in LE was actually increased in the youngest group of speakers. The leveling process has apparently not resulted in total conformity to models of English outside the context of the communities, although there is certainly much more influence from these sources to be found in the youngest generation.

Both SJE and LE indicate important generational differences in the groups. The group of speakers above 40 is most likely to reveal aspects of language influence related to the ancestral language while the youngest group is the least likely, with the 20-39 group being a transitional one. Generational differences are important in both groups, but this is to be expected given the language contact history of the two communities. In both communities, the ancestral Indian language was the first language of the generation older than 40, and English was a second, and, in some cases (following Spanish) a third language. The 20-39 year old group was transitional, and the younger generation typically learned English as a first language. Given this similarity, it is understandable that the groups should indicate generational differences along the same lines. However, it should be remembered that the correlation of particular structures with generational differences is not isomorphic in the two communities. Thus, the greater standardness of the Laguna older generation vis-a-vis the San Juan older population is not explicable on this basis. Other factors, such as the extent of exposure to English, educational orientation of the community, and the value of prescriptive norms, must be considered in order to explain these types of differences.

In the above paragraphs, we have spoken of a number of similarities and differences across the two varieties, but we have not attempted to account for them. No doubt, some of the similarities can be traced to the language contact history of the groups. There are a number of characteristics which are quite typical of speakers who learned English as a second language. Certain types of concord differences, plural patterns, or negative realization have been documented as transitional stages in the acquisition of English as a second language regardless of the first language of the speaker. And, there is ample evidence that such patterns can become fossilized at particular stages so that these can no longer simply be considered transitional phenemona per se for a given speaker. Given the ongoing history of the language contact situation of the community, however, they may be seen as transitional structures if they are not acquired by subsequent generations of speakers or those outside of the language learning context. Some of the similarities in the varieties can certainly be traced to the similar language contact situation which existed in the two communities.

On the other hand, there are aspects of similarity which are probably best seen as the reflection ancestral language influence. In this case, similar typological characteristics between the varieties would lead to the same influence in the resultant variety of English. Certainly, aspects of phonological influence such as cluster reduction can be attributed to this source. Unmarked tense within the grammatical system was also attributed to this source. This is not to say that this operates independently from general language acquisition strategies, since the absence of tense marking is a phenomenon which has been documented in other studies of second language acquisition regardless of the ancestral language. But the particular way in which the unmarked tense is constrained by habituality in these varieties would appear to set it apart from other reported cases of unmarked tense in second language acquisition (C.F. Frith 1976: 72ff).

Finally, we may see aspects of unifying structures among these varieties attributable to diffusional sources. The generalized no tag we discussed for SJE, which is quite common in LE as well, might qualify as an instance of this type. In this case the historical influence of Spanish on varieties of English spoken in the Southwest might be cited as the most reasonable explanation of this phenomenon. Diffusionally based common features are actually more in evidence among the younger generation of speakers than the older ones, particularly in the types of non-mainstream characteristics being adopted by this group. While there is a continuing maintenance of certain features, particularly in phonology, being transmitted across generations in those communities, this is being leveled with some common aspects of midland non-mainstream varieties.

It should be observed that the different sources appealed to above as a basis for explaining similarity in SJE and LE have not included that of a pidgin or creole predecessor. That is, we do not appeal to a contact vernacular which existed at an earlier stage in the Southwest among different communities of Native Americans. As we stressed in our introduction to this section, the attribution of similar structures to an English-based pidgin or creole would have to go considerably beyond the citation of particular structures which are common to such contact vernaculars. Based on our understanding of the contact situation in the Rio Grande region historically, primary attribution of similarity to an English-based pidgin or creole is not particularly feasible. That the pidginization process (in our taxonomy in the introduction "secondary hybridization") has been active in the language contact situation is indisputable, but the stabilized existence of a pidgin or creole over several generations seems remote. As mentioned earlier, there was little contact with English until the early part of this century, so that Spanish would have been a more likely candidate as the basis for a pidgin or creole. Furthermore, there is considerable variation among other speakers, and this seems to be related to the degree to which they are familiar with English. Whereas this individual variation might be attributed to a difference in stages of decreolization process among different speakers, there is no basis for maintaining the existence of the divergent structures apart from the language learning situation. The lack of historical evidence for an English-based pidgin or creole in the Rio Grande, along with the individual diversity and alternative explanations for structural similarities thus suggests that the appeal to a creole or pidgin source for similarity is not justified at this point.

NOTE TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Historically, of course, we know that amn't was an integral stage in the development of the form ain't (cf. Wolfram and Christian 1976:114). The social disfavor into which ain't fell left a gap in the contracted negative paradigm for first person singular forms, since isn't and aren't are prohibited according to the standard English concord pattern. This leaves only full negative forms (am not or 'm not) as the equivalent standard English correspondence.

CHAPTER FIVE

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND THE READING AND WRITING PROCESS

In the preceding chapters, we set forth the descriptive dimensions of language variation in two Indian communities. We have seen how they compared with each other and with other non-mainstream varieties as well. From the standpoint of descriptive sociolinguistics, these chapters might be considered sufficient in themselves. But from the perspective of educational concern, this descriptive information is simply a prerequisite for investigating the effect of language variation on basic educational skills. In this chapter, we look at the possible effect that the linguistic diversity discussed in Chapters Three and Four might have on the reading and writing process. The primary issue is how significant spoken language diversity might be in the acquisition of these basic educational skills. Although we only investigate selected aspects of this possible influence here, the implications for education in the context of these communities is much broader.

The collection of reading and writing samples used for analysis in this chapter was restricted to fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students who attended the Bureau of Indian Affairs Day Schools in their respective communities. In addition to the reading and writing samples collected in San Juan and Laguna, a "control" group of Anglo students was selected from Arlington County, Virginia, a suburb of the Washington Metropolitan community to provide similar reading passages and writing samples. This third group was included to help us determine the dimensions of the reading and writing which may be shared or unique for the groups. In all, 23 students from San Juan, 19 from Laguna, and 11 from Arlington County read identical reading passages, and 10, 66, and 21 writing samples were collected, respectively.

5.1 Reading Miscues and Language Diversity

5.1.1 Method of Data Collection

In order to investigate reading, a set of passages was chosen for oral reading, following the format set forth in Goodman and Burke's Reading Miscue Inventory (1972). The particular passages used are given in

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Appendix C. Students read a difficulty-graded passage from a typical basal reader. The passages were graded using the Dale-Chall Readability Index. All together, seven different passages were available for the readers, and the particular passage selected depended on the student's reading ability. For the purpose of miscue analysis, the difficulty level should be slightly above the current proficiency level of the child, since it is necessary to have adequate numbers of miscues for analysis. The actual reading passages were rated at grade levels 1.5, 2.5, 4.5, 6, 7.5, 8.5, and 10. For convenience the grade levels were then multiplied by 2, giving difficulty levels of 3,5,9,12,15,17 and 20.

The tape recording of the reading passages was conducted by a CAL staff worker in an isolated setting in the school context. Students were instructed to read a passage aloud for approximately 20 minutes. The fieldworker told students that they would be reading a passage that was more difficult than what they were currently reading in school. It was explained that this was intentional and that they should expect to encounter some difficulty. The researcher went to some length to explain that this reading session was not a test or evaluation of any sort, and that no grade would be assigned to their performance. The students were also told that after they finished reading, they would be asked to retell everything they could about the story.

Once the student had been acclimated to the task, the researcher chose a reading passage which was compatible with the subject's age and grade. As the student began to read, the researcher listened carefully, following a copy of the passage. In the Reading Miscue Inventory (RMI), Goodman and Burke suggest that the student should make at least 25 miscues during a twenty-minute reading. We found that this was a low figure and that readers could generally make many more miscues without experiencing undue frustration. If the subject appeared to be reading without difficulty and had not miscued several times within the first few paragraphs, the interviewer would suggest that a different passage be read. Likewise, if the student was clearly overtaxed (i.e., mumbling, stopping, long silent pauses, moving about in the chair, or on occasion simply refusing to read), the difficulty level of the passage was adjusted downward. This adjustment procedure was very successful and a simple technique to master. With very little practice most students could be adjusted to their proper difficulty level quite rapidly. In most cases, the adjustment was made to a less difficult level, although there are cases of both in our data. The researcher remained silent during the oral reading, offering no prompting or encouragement. This is particularly important in "miscue analysis" and was followed rigorously. Prior to the actual reading task, this regulation was clearly explained to the students.

After the 15 to 20 minutes of oral reading, students were then asked to retell as much of the passage as possible. Several protocol questions concerning the major participants in the story and sequencing of events in the passages were then regularly asked. The researcher was careful not to imply any information in these protocol questions which was not offered by the student during the retell. Parenthetically, it should be noted that more effective methods of gathering reading data need to be developed for young Indian students. Several aspects of the interview situation may bring about value conflicts, such as the potential penalty for limited retelling (vis-a-vis the value of giving as much information as possible) and the dimensions of respect which may make the student reticent with a researcher. No doubt, these had some effect in this study, and they played a role in some of our subsequent decisions in the analysis of data.

5.1.2 The Reading Miscue Inventory

For the analysis of reading in Laguna, San Juan and Arlington County, selected aspects of Goodman and Burke's Reading Miscue Inventory (RMI) were adopted. Within this framework, variations in reading which may be due to a particular variety of English (in their taxonomy, a miscue related to a "dialect" feature) is only one category within a number of other types of divergence from the written text. The theoretical premise underlying the use of miscue analysis is that divergence from a written text in an oral rendition gives significant information concerning the central issues in reading, such as comprehension, syntactic processing, meaning, and so forth. The term "miscue" is carefully chosen as an alternative to "error" since divergence of this type is to be expected by any reader, and in itself, is not indicative of good or poor reading. That is, the quantity of the miscues is not nearly as important as the quality--the types of divergence that may relate to significant or non-significant alteration of the intent of the writer of the passage. As Goodman and Burke explain:

> When a person reads, there are times when what he thinks is printed on the page and what is actually there differ. The resulting deviation from the printed page is called a miscue. The RMI provides a series of questions which the teacher uses to determine the quality and variety of the reader's miscues. These questions focus on the effect each miscue has on the meaning of what is being read. They also enable the teacher to analyze the reader's use of available language cues and background information.
> (Goodman and Burke 1972:6)

The quality of student's miscues becomes important in light of some basic assumptions about reading. These assumptions underlie the RMI as well as our general analysis of oral reading. First, we assume that every reader brings a complete oral language system into the reading process. The readers' variety of English forms the basis for their interpretation of written language. Readers must adapt their conceptions of English to conform to the conventions and structures of written language. A second assumption is that all readers bring their past experiences to bear on written material. How readers understand a passage can stem to a large degree from their previous knowledge of the subject. Given two passages of similar syntactic and semantic difficulty, readers may have more difficulty reading the passage which concerns an unfamiliar topic, or contains new information. A third assumption is that reading materials reflect the background and language patterns of their author. While the conventions of writing will influence how an author composes, the basic sentence structures and vocabulary familiar to the author will be reflected in the written material. We commonly refer to this as "style", which it is, but it can also have an effect upon readability, depending upon the language background of particular readers. The final assumption about reading is one which ties all the previous ones together; that is, reading is an active language process in which there is constant interaction between the reader and the text. Reading, by this interpretation, is not viewed simply as rote decoding of "speech written down". Rather, it is an intersection between the language patterns and experiences of two people, the reader and the author. When these patterns and experiences are different, the reader can experience difficulty predicting what the author intends. This difficulty of prediction increases the likelihood of misconceptions and reading problems.

The application of these notions for the speaker of a non-mainstream variety should be relatively clear. Most educational texts and reading materials are authored in a very "standard" or mainstream style of English. This is certainly in line with the tradition of the educational system in our society. The obvious disparity between a non-mainstream variety and the variety of English used in reading materials presents a potential conflict for the reading process. Originally, Goodman (1965) hypothesized that the greater the divergence from a mainstream variety, the greater the difficulty a beginning reader would have in acquiring reading skills. While Goodman's original hypothesis has now been modified on the basis of subsequent research, it still remains clear that there is a relationship between spoken language diversity and reading.

In an indirect way, the RMI may be used as a measure of possible language variety influence on reading. The RMI classifies miscues in oral reading in nine categories: dialect, intonation, graphic similarity, sound similarity, grammatical function, correction, grammatical acceptability, semantic acceptability, and meaning change. Each miscue is coded for yes, no, or partial basis in each of these categories. The scores for the last four categories (correction, grammatical acceptability, semantic acceptability, and meaning change) are combined to arrive at two other indices, called "comprehension" and "grammatical relationships". The scores for all the categories are expressed as percentages of "relative strength" or "weakness" within each category. (See Appendix C for a sample worksheet.)

According to the RMI, readers combine and interpret three "cueing systems" to produce meaning. Graphic representations are converted to sounds by the reader to give some clues. Syntactic or grammatical relationships also help the reader predict the author's meaning, and finally, the readers' sense of semantic correctness confirms or refutes their interpretation of previous clues. This, of course, is a vast simplification since the reader is using all three systems simultaneously to interpret and predict meaning. The RMI can, however, provide a measurement of the relative strengths or weaknesses for individuals or groups of readers.

Of the eleven categories, three will receive particular attention here. The category "dialect" will receive more specific attention later in our discussion. The column concerned with "grammatical function" measures the degree to which the form produced by a reader serves the same grammatical function in a sentence, irrespective of how it affects the sentence semantically. For the most part, the category assesses whether the miscued version acts as the same part of speech as the expected word from the passage (e.g. if the miscue on a verb still involves a verb). In the case of non-word miscues, inflectional endings provide the information used to make decisions. The scoring for "grammatical function" is done on a yes/no basis (indicating whether or not the same function has been maintained) with a "partial" column reserved for ambiguities. This category can be important because it suggests whether the reader understands what characteristics constitute the various parts of speech. An understanding of how grammatical categories operate is critical to the process of predicting structures in reading. There is no evidence to suggest that non-mainstream speakers of English have a less than complete command of these grammatical criteria. However, information from this category may provide insights into their general knowledge of English structures to compare their understanding of broad grammatical categories to that of mainstream speakers.

The other two categories of interest are "comprehension" and "grammatical relationships". These categories are the combined responses of other categories, as previously mentioned. "Grammatical relationships" is designed to explore how well the reader maintains the syntactic arrangements of English, and it is arrived at by totaling the responses from the "correction" category and both "acceptability" columns. In these groups, each miscue is scored in one of four categories: strength, partial strength, weakness, and overcorrection. The combination of scores is designed to determine the degree to which acceptable grammatical relationships are maintained when miscues occur in oral reading, given that every miscue has the potential to alter the syntactic arrangement of the sentence in which it is contained. The scoring categories should be self-explanatory, with the exception of "overcorrection". This column is marked when a reader uses a correction strategy when it is not necessary to do so. A typical example would be:

Ⓒ couldn't
(1) They could not see through the fog.

Because the observed response in perfectly acceptable, the correction strategy here is unnecessary. The focus of this component can be important with non-mainstream groups who might use different grammatical relationships. The usefulness of this measure is similar to the value of the grammatical function category. Both, in fact, address different aspects of the same question, i.e., how well does the reader understand the grammatical components and construction of English in the reading passage? Good readers recreate the syntactic relationships of their language in reading by employing the cueing systems available to them. How well non-mainstream dialect speakers perform in this column will give an indication as to whether they are utilizing these systems, and their knowledge of English, as effectively as mainstream speakers.

The final column to which we will pay close attention is "comprehension". Regardless of how a person reads, the ultimate goal is high comprehension. An index of comprehension is arrived at, in the RMI, by compiling the scores for "correction", "semantic acceptability" and "meaning change". Given the current state of research in such fields as linguistics, psychology, and testing, any measure of comprehension in reading is best considered as an approximation or perhaps an educated estimate. These sorts of figures offer fairly little internal validity, but if they are approached with caution, they can be used beneficially for comparative purposes. By applying this measure to all three groups, we can arrive at a general picture of how the students comprehended the material they read. Ideally, there is a second indicator of comprehension which serves to validate and/or supplement this comprehension score. This source of information is the Retelling sequence and score, from the oral reading sample, when the students relate the information from the passage after they have finished reading it. With respect to the retelling, Goodman and Burke observe:

> ...The retelling score is both a broader and deeper measure of the meanings the student has gained from reading. The concern here is with the readers' ability to interrelate, interpret and draw conclusions from the context.
>
> (Goodman and Burke 1972:23)

We have already hinted at the potential problems retelling tasks can involve. For one, readers may be penalized for not explicitly telling what they know about the story in the retell. Obviously, there is a value placed on giving as much information as possible. Readers may also be penalized for making inferences about relationships not necessarily part of the intentions of the author. An example of this occurred in one of the student retellings about moon colonization (see Appendix C) when a student included the information that baseball would be played a lot in moon colonies. This, however, is not specifically mentioned in the story, although the author does state that there will be ball parks, and, in a separate sentence, that people will want to have a good time. Given the prominence of baseball as a leisure activity in the Indian communities considered here, the inference is quite reasonable, yet the analyst might detract points for an inference not intended by the author. Further problems may arise in the retell based on the types of probing questions asked by the analyst. Thus, when an interviewer says something like "You mentioned *X*,*Y*, and *Z*, is there anything else?" the probe may imply that there *is* something more that the students should tell.

The potential problems in the retell indicated above may arise for any group of students, but are accentuated for non-mainstream groups, particularly those who do not share some of the value orientations toward the retelling task that underlie "successful" performance. The retell task was not well received by many of the Indian students in this study, and some students were quite reticent about engaging in this activity. Given some of the indigenous community values, the retell task seems to be particularly inappropriate, and thus a poor indicator of the students' knowledge. Due to the potential skewing, we have eliminated the retell section of the Inventory from any formal measurement here.

5.1.3 Comparison of Score on Grammatical Function, Comprehension, and Grammatical Relationships

As mentioned previously, the three categories in the RMI of particular interest in this study are those marked "Grammatical Function", "Comprehension", and "Grammatical Relationships" (cf. Appendix C). In Table 5.1, the scores for San Juan, Laguna, and Arlington County are given in percentages. Speakers' scores are given representing four different difficulty levels, identified by the titles of the reading passages (i.e. "Mary Jo's Puppy," "Gilbert and the Duck", "Moon Colonies," and "Herbie's Ride"). For each group, the mean score was computed in order to arrive at the score for that group. In all, scores are tabulated for 11 different readers from San Juan, 12 for Laguna, and 11 for the control group from Arlington County. While the sample is restricted, particularly for some difficulty levels, it is still possible to compare trends in the scores which offer valuable information about the interaction of the readers, the stories, and the RMI itself.

	Grammatical Function			Comprehension			Grammatical Relationships			
	Yes	Partial	No	No Loss	Partial Loss	Loss	Strength	Partial Strength	Weakness	Overcorrection
Mary Jo's Puppy [D.L. 5; Past]										
San Juan(4)	60	9	30	43	11	46	35	3	57	5
Laguna(1)	65	13	22	59	7	34	53	0	41	6
Control(3)	51	1	47	50	4	42	41	1	52	6
Mean	59			51			43			
Gilbert and The Duck [D.L. 9; Present]										
San Juan(2)	61	5	34	58	5	37	50	.5	45	4
Laguna(4)	71	4	25	55	7	37	45	2	48	5
Control(3)	47	1	52	49	4	47	39	2	55	4
Mean	60			54			45			
Moon Colonies [D.L. 12; Future]										
San Juan(3)	68	9	22	38	11	51	33	1	61	4
Laguna(4)	51	5	44	37	3	60	31	3	64	2
Control(3)	64	1	35	55	5	40	35	.3	58	6
Mean	61			43			33			
Herbie's Ride [D.L. 15; Past]										
San Juan(2)	72	2	26	43	6	51	37	3	58	2
Laguna(3)	65	6	29	47	2	51	40	1	55	4
Control(2)	65	2	33	42	6	52	35	.5	61	3
Mean	67			44			37			
Mean Percent for All Levels	62			48			39			

Table 5.1 Reading Miscue Scores for San Juan, Laguna and Arlington County (Figures Are Percentages)

Several trends can be seen in Table 5.1, but no single dominant pattern emerges. All three groups shared in higher and lower levels of performance at various points. When compared overall as two groups, the mainstream and non-mainstream speakers, the non-mainstream groups actually scored slightly higher at three of the four difficulty levels.

The study certainly suggests how some of the RMI categories interrelate with each other. In effect, a comparison of large numbers of RMI scores reveals patterns which may result from the nature of the Inventory as well as from the abilities of the students. "Comprehension" and "Grammatical Relationships" parallel each other in suggestive ways. For example, a comparison of the categories in terms of rank order for the three groups within any difficulty level always indicates an identical rank order for "Comprehension"and "Grammatical Relationships". Thus, if Laguna readers had the highest No Loss in Comprehension, then they also had the highest score on Strength in Grammatical Relationships. Not only is the rank order relationship the same, but the percentages across categories are also quite close. In all but three cases for all difficulty levels, a group's score in one column was within ten percentage points of the corresponding scores in the other column. Thus, at difficulty level 15, the highest scores were both in the Laguna group, "Comprehension--No Loss" at 47 percent and "Grammatical Relationships--Strength" at 40 percent.

"Grammatical Function" does not parallel as closely the scores of the other two categories. At first glance it might seem that "Grammatical Function" should also parallel "Comprehension" and "Grammatical Relationships". The fact that it does not however, reflects the influence of the RMI design. The instructions for marking this category are quite broad in scope. They suggest that there are a limited number of grammatical categories and that words can be easily assigned to them. When words are divided into a small number of very broad grammatical categories, readers seem successful at replacing the appropriate part of speech in a given sentence. We will return to what this may mean in a moment. The lack of correlation between the two grammatical components comes from the inclusion of information from another category, "Semantic Relationships", in the total for "Grammatical Relationships". This semantic input means that while the decision that "a verb is a verb" may result in a high score for "Function", it may not fit adequately in the "Relationships" category. Consider the following example:

> (2) Someday I am going to be a dectective. So for now, I $\overset{\text{protect}}{\text{practice}}$ every chance I get. (200,1:1/7)[1]

The miscue, practice-protect, was uncorrected, resulting in coding of Weakness in the "Grammatical Relationships" column. Both words, however, are verbs, so that for the "Function" category the miscue is successful one. While this explains why the two grammatical categories can have dissimilar scores, it also raises questions about the "Function" category itself. It seems worth questioning whether the distinctions made by this column are meaningful either to grammar or reading, since the categories of grammatical function are so broad. For example, distinctions between different verb types, such as transitive and intransitive, and different types of nominals or adverbial complements are not included. Without a more finely based categorization, the information is of limited value.

Notwithstanding certain criticisms, the score in the "Grammatical Function" column does indicate that the reader is making use of the cue of "grammatical similarity" (along with "semantic" and "graphic" similarity) as one of the cueing strategies in reading. All three groups scored highest in this category. For the individual communities, the sample of students tends to show improvement as the difficulty level increases. San Juan showed a progressive improvement which increased with the difficulty level, and the Control group readers showed a marked improvement at difficulty levels 12 and 15 when compared with 5 and 9. The systematic improvement corresponding to difficulty level is noteworthy. It suggests that the identification of grammatical function improves with reader proficiency. But it also suggests that this parameter is somewhat independent of reader comprehension, since it shows no apparent relationship with the "Comprehension" category. Finally, the substitutability pattern for grammatical function does not appear to be affected by dialect-related features, since non-mainstream speakers here actually performed better in this category than the mainstream group.

A comparison of the individual group scores for the category "Comprehension" does not reveal the same type of pattern as that found in "Grammatical Function". If there is any trend, it seems to be that the score in comprehension decreases with the difficulty level. Based on the broad-based classification scheme set forth in the RMI guidelines, all three groups fall between the "moderately effective" and "some effective" ranges in the use of oral reading strategies. For this category, one of the most apparent contrasts between groups occurs with the passage for difficulty level 12 ("Moon Colonies"), where the San Juan and Laguna groups score considerably lower than the Control group. Generally speaking, the highest scores were revealed for the combined groups in difficulty level 9 (Gilbert and the Duck). We will comment on this further when we consider the effect of each story on the RMI scores.

As we have already noticed, the category of "Grammatical Relationships" patterns much like "Comprehension", in that scores tend to get lower with the increase in difficulty level. Thus, the scores for difficulty levels 5 and 9 for all three groups are higher than those for difficulty levels 12 and 15. When the Indian groups are compared with each other and with the control group, no consistent pattern emerges in which one group consistently scores higher or lower than the others. The implication in this observation is that difference in the variety of English spoken does not appear to be a central issue in accounting for difference in performance for these groups.

Before concluding our discussion of the results indicated in Table 5.1, we should mention something about the possible effect of the variable of story content. The passage rated at difficulty level 9 resulted in the highest "Comprehension" score for two of the three reading groups, and also had the highest scores in the "Grammatical Relationship" category. On the other hand, the passage at difficulty level 12 was the lowest in these categories. What is particularly noticeable in the latter case is the low scores of the two Indian groups compared with the control group. The passage at level 9 is about a lost duck and a detective, whereas the passage at level 12 is about moon colonies. We can only speculate that the passage on space technology and moon exploration is more consonant with the background knowledge of Washington, D.C. suburban students than it is for those students in the context of the pueblo. Subjective impressions of the retells also support this contention, since many of the students in San Juan and Laguna struggled with words and concepts which control groups readers handled with little difficulty. Thus, story content can apparently have some effect on the categories of "Comprehension" and "Grammatical Relationships".

Another possible passage-specific influence on the RMI may relate to the tense of the passage. The passage in the present time perspective had the highest overall scores on comprehension and grammatical relationships, the two stories in past were in the middle, and the story in a future time perspective was the lowest. While the effect of the time perspective on comprehension and grammatical relationships is suggestive, its isolation from the variables of content and difficulty level must be established before we can come to a conclusive determination of the role of tense.

To sum up, the evidence from the RMI provides no clear-cut evidence for variation in spoken English being a significant factor affecting reading in San Juan and Laguna. This does not, however, mean that other factors, such as cultural context, may not prove to be a significant factor. In fact, there is suggestive evidence for maintaining that story content can be important in distinguishing the mainstream from the non-mainstream groups in this study. Our conclusions are reached primarily on the basis of our comparison of RMI scores for the Indian groups and the mainstream control group. When judged against students at comparable reading skill levels, the English language diversity does not appear to make a significant difference. The matching of reading skills levels, of course, includes a number of readers in both the mainstream and non-mainstream groups who are currently reading well below the established norms for their appropriate grade levels. Thus, students in the three groups who read passages at the difficulty level of 5 were reading material appropriate for grade 2.5 even though they were in grades four through six. On the other hand, students in these grades who read the passage at difficulty level 12 were reading material appropriate for sixth grade. Consistent differences between the groups simply did not emerge when different skill level groups within the three groups were compared.

5.1.4 The Effect of Specific Language Features on Reading Miscues

In the preceding sections, our conclusions about the influence of spoken language diversity on the process of reading were inferential rather than direct. That is, we did not isolate the specific miscues related to the types of structures we discussed in earlier chapters. Instead, we were content to show that, whatever the influence of these features, they did not contribute to overall discrepancies in processing skills such as grammatical relationships, grammatical function, and comprehension between the Indian groups and the mainstream control groups. At this point, we can take several instances of actual features discussed in earlier chapters and point out their particular contribution to the overall incidence of miscues. These two cases should be considered illustrative of a wider range cf grammatical influence from the spoken variety on the miscues.

5.1.4.1 Tense Marking

One of the most important and complex features of English is its tense marking system. As we described in Chapters Three and Four, tense marking in varieties of Indian English can be considerably different from tense marking in mainstream varieties. We will not repeat our discussion here (cf. Section 3.2.1), but simply note that the distinctions between the systems make it a viable candidate for consideration as a factor influencing reading miscues. One qualification here is necessary however. For the most part, the grammatical process of tense marking is a form characteristic of older generations, although its vestiges are still evident among some younger speakers.

Methodologically, our tabulation of unmarked tense in the reading passages was limited to those forms which could result from the grammatical process of unmarked tense. This means that those forms of surface tense unmarking which might be the result of the phonological processes were eliminated from the tabulation (cf. Section 3.2.1.1.1). This restricted the tabulation primarily to irregular verb forms, and each instance in which the reader miscued on an irregular past tense form was counted, regardless of the type of divergence indicated. This would serve as a check on the role of other influences as well, such as graphic similarity.

Our sample size was affected by the tense of each of the sample texts. The easiest text (D.L. 5) and the most difficult text (D.L. 15) were written in the past and included 63 and 88 irregular past tense verb tokens, respectively. The middle two samples (D.L. 9 and 12) were in the present and future tenses, and had so few tokens of the needed variety that they were not included in the sample. Despite the limited sample size, the tabulation of the most and least difficult passages will give an indication of whether the "standardness" of English tense marking improves with reader proficiency. The results of our tabulation are found in Table 5.2.

Based on the figures in Table 5.2, it appears that neither variety of English nor level of reader proficiency influenced the readers' ability to produce standard English tense structures. At Difficulty Level 15, the students from all three groups (San Juan, Laguna, and the Control group) encountered a total of 419 irregular tense markers without making a single tense-related miscue. San Juan students made two miscues on 124 sample tokens, but both were graphic in nature (fell/felt). Laguna readers produced three miscues, all non-tense-related, in 183 attempts. No control group readers miscued on an irregular past tense verb. At Difficulty Level 5, the students from all three groups produced greater numbers of miscues, although only one was sufficiently clear-cut to be categorized as an example of unmarked past tense. The single token was produced by a San Juan reader. The conclusion must be drawn, then, that a dialect-specific influence is not present in the reading of past tense constructions for these students.

Group	Difficulty Level 5			Difficulty Level 15		
	Speaker No.	No. Unmarked/ Total	%	Speaker No.	No. Unmarked/ Total	%
San Juan	84,2	0/38	0.0	208,2	0/57	0.0
	136,2	0/38	0.0	135,2	0/67	0.0
	137,1	0/38	0.0			
	137,2	3/63	4.8			
	Total	3/177	1.7		0/124	0.0
Laguna	44,1	0/33	0.0	42,2	0/65	0.0
				46,1	0/83	0.0
				74,2	0/135	0.0
	Total	0/33	0.0		0/183	0.0
Control	97,2	0/63	0.0	400,1	0/67	
	450,1	0/63	0.0	400,2	0/44	0.0
	184,2	0/63	0.0			
	Total	0/189	0.0		0/111	0.0
TOTAL		3/399	0.8		0/418	0.0
San Juan and Laguna Total		3/210	1.4		0/307	0.0
[excluding possible Convergence		1/210	0.5]			

Table 5.2 Incidence of Unmarked Past Tense Forms among San Juan, Laguna and Control Group Readers

5.1.4.2 Irregular Verbs

In the previous section we investigated how some speakers handled past tense markers. In order to do so conclusively, it was necessary to limit our study to irregular past tense verbs. In addition to the overt marking of past tense, irregular verbs can also be investigated from another perspective. Many varieties of non-mainstream English form these irregular past tense forms differently from mainstream English. This has been often discussed for other non-mainstream varieties, and the results of our findings about Indian English are discussed in Section 3.2.3.

There are a number of different alternate forms irregular verbs can take. The most common process involved is regularization in which the suffix *-ed* is attached to the present tense form of these verbs. The result is a form like *buyed*, rather than *bought*. Another possibility is the exchanging of the preterit for past participle forms or vice versa. For instance, the preterit form *did* may be used in the past participle slot, resulting in "I *have did* it many times before." Conversely, the past participle form *done* may be used in place of the preterit, as in "He *done* it yesterday." Two other possibilities can be realized, although they occur infrequently. The base or infinitive form is occasionally used in place of another past tense form, as in *I have never ride in that train* (106:14), or a new irregular form is sometimes created, as in *brang* for *brought*, although this occurs infrequently.

The types of irregular forms are not particularly frequent in speech, but do occur. Following the pattern of other features, this also true for reading. As with past tense marking, a number of graphic similarities cloud some of the possible examples of this feature. Single letter variations between the expected and observed responses in reading suggest that graphic similarity is playing an active role in creating certain types of miscues. Particularly numerous are the qualifications surrounding the word *come*. This word has not only very high graphic similarity between past and present forms (*come* vs. *came*) but the base form is identical to the past participle form (*come* and *have come*). As was done for the previous tabulations, we will count any "irregular" forms which appear, and then eliminate those which appear too ambiguous.

As we saw in the last section, past tense forms occurred in only two of the reading passages. At difficulty levels 5 and 15, irregular past tense forms were evidenced regularly. Because the two samples used represent the extremes of the sample, any differences in the treatment of the verbs related to proficiency level should be evidenced there.

Not all the forms found in conversational speech were produced in the reading passage at difficulty level 5. No different forms (i.e. brang) are produced on irregular past tense verbs, although one Laguna speaker did use soaken as the past participle form of soak (having soaked). No preterit forms were found as past participles (have came) constructions. One clearly regularized form did occur:

(3) Mary Jo and her friend Laurie spended hours ... (44, 1:3/13)

As in previous tabulations, only attestations which were uncorrected were counted. The category of "uncorrected" includes instances where the reader attempted to correct a miscue without success, and miscues which the subject simply produced and gave no further consideration. The ambiguous form come was involved in the only two other possible examples of alternative treatment of irregular past tense verbs. A San Juan reader produced these two sentences without correction:

(4) "This one", she said. "He come right to me." (137, 2:3/6)

(5) There was a window to the East, so sunlight come to the kitchen window first. (137, 2:6/12)

These examples deserve mention because they illustrate several variables which are at work in the reading process. Strictly speaking, however, both are ambiguous due to the high graphic similarity between come and came.

Tabulated below in Table 5.3 are frequencies for alternate irregular verb forms. In the lefthand column, the figures are adjusted to exclude tokens for which there was a graphic convergence to explain the miscue.

	Frequency of alternate irregular verb forms		Frequencies, adjusted for graphic similarity	
	No. Miscued/ Total	%	No. Miscued/ Total	%
San Juan	2/168	1.2	0/168	0.0
Laguna	1/32	3.1	1/32	3.1
Control	0/183	0.0	0/183	0.0
Total San Juan & Laguna	3/200	1.5	1/200	0.5
Total D.L. 5	3/383	0.8	1/383	0.3

Table 5.3 Incidence of Alternative Irregular Verb forms for San Juan and Control Group Readers at Difficulty Level 5

At the higher Difficulty Level (D.L. 15) the frequencies of alternate or non-standard irregular forms was even smaller. In fact, there were no examples at all. The results are reproduced below in Table 5.4.

	No. Miscued/ Total	%
San Juan	0/115	0.0
Laguna	0/186	0.0
Control	0/110	0.0
SJ & LE	0/301	0.0
D.L. 15	0/411	0.0

Table 5.4 Incidence of Alternative Irregular Verb Forms for San Juan, Laguna and Control Group Readers at Difficulty Level 15

The statistics in these tables are clearly conclusive. The incidence of alternative irregular verb forms is practically nonexistent in reading. Even at the levels indicated in the righthand column of Table 5.3, the frequencies can only be considered incidental.

It seems clear that dialect influence plays little part in the existence of non-mainstream irregular verb forms in the reading samples. This is similar to our conclusion concerning unmarked tense, supporting the conclusion that few of the grammatically-based miscues in San Juan and Laguna can be unambiguously identified as related to the spoken language divergence. We do not mean to say that they cannot occur, however, for there are examples that suggest that they can. Nor do we mean to say that there may not be other influences from the spoken language on the oral reading. In fact, our observation is that there is considerable phonological influence to be found in the oral reading passages. Phonological influences, however, are excluded in the RMI, and they apparently do not influence the essential categories involved in the processing of reading material. The upshot, then, appears to be that the contribution of spoken language diversity in Laguna and San Juan does not set it apart from other varieties in terms of how speakers measure on their processing of grammatical relationships, comprehension, and grammatical function.

5.2 Language Diversity and Writing in San Juan and Laguna

Although it looms as a central issue in language diversity and education, the influence of linguistic diversity on writing skills has received little formal attention by researchers, even less than reading. For the most part, isolated research on this topic has focused on other non-mainstream varieties, such as Vernacular Black English and Southern White nonstandard English. Given the language situation in San Juan and Laguna, however, the relationship between language diversity and writing is a natural educational consideration which follows from our description of the linguistic systems.

The approach to language diversity and writing in this study is similar to that employed in other sociolinguistic studies of this type. That is, it attempts to trace spoken linguistic structures from San Juan and Laguna students as described in Chapters Three and Four to particular structures found in their writing samples. This may, at first glance, seem like a straightforward procedure, but there are actually a number of issues which must be dealt with before we begin the comparison.

Among those issues to be considered is the difference between written and spoken language styles apart from any consideration of language diversity. Writing must be viewed as more than "speech written down", in the sense that there are items which can be used in writing which are not appropriate for conversational speech and vice-versa. This natural development of written style means that there will not necessarily be a written counterpart for every feature described for speech. For example, the plural form you guys (e.g. You guys are going to California, you guys could take these tickets (182:248)) or the use of generalized tags (e.g. Bet those guys were tired, no? (89:131)) are informal conversational items, and their appearance in writing might not be expected simply on the basis of stylistic differentiation. Even in the very early stages of educational development, students are socialized into recognizing a stylistic difference in items appropriate for speech but not writing. And, such items may or may not relate to dialect diversity *per se*.

Another variable to be considered is the effect of the writing process itself. Whiteman (forthcoming) has shown that there are a number of items which may be altered in writing quite independent of spoken language, and that these must be considered as a realization of developmental writing skills. For example, certain types of suffixes may be predisposed for deletion in writing regardless of the spoken language of the writer. These writing problems may be reflective of a student's continuing acquisition of the writing process, and therefore they may be generalized problems for any student learning to write. There is also a category of mechanical problems which has to be considered in our treatment. This category includes certain conventional ways in which the writing system is used, such as procedures for capitalization, punctuation, and so forth. Some arbitrary aspects of spelling certainly fit into this category, except that spelling errors may also be reflective of phonological influence from a writer's spoken language. Finally, there are accidental gaps or problems relating to gaps in knowledge. Some of these may be due to the nature of the written code, while others may be related to non-linguistic cultural differences.

In light of the preceding considerations, we can see that the identification of spoken language reflexes in writing is not a simple one. We cannot count on an isomorphic correspondence, and several different sources may actually surface as the same type of variation. The serious study of spoken language influence in writing cannot exclude these other possible sources of variations in writing. Sorting out those items which are most reasonably accounted for as a reflection of the spoken language in the light of alternative explanations is at the heart of research on language diversity and writing. In this respect, this study is no exception, although the focus of our attention is clearly on potential influences from spoken language.

Due to the relative paucity of studies on writing and dialect, the terminology for writer variation from 'standard' spelling and grammar has not been well established. We use two terms for this study, and modify both of their meanings. For variation in spelling for which there is no clear oral language influence, and for non-word and mechanical variations, we have employed the term error. The use of this term implies an accident or a lack of specific knowledge. For variations which we believe show spoken variety influence we employ the term miscue, which is borrowed from its use in the analysis of reading. Goodman (1968) uses this term to suggest that something more than error is at work in textual deviations. We would suggest, by its use here, that in the case of variety-related writing miscues, the writers' knowledge of, as opposed to lack of knowledge of, their oral language is critical to the making of word and spelling choices.

The writing samples were gathered from 4th, 5th, and 6th grade students at San Juan and Laguna day schools, and from 5th and 6th grade students from metropolitan Washington, D.C. schools (cf. Section 5.1.0). Sampling for such a study presents some interesting problems if a wide range of features are to be analyzed. Unlike reading, the writing researcher cannot easily predict what structures the subject will encounter during the writing task. The reading researcher may carefully choose the passage, or may write it, to insure that all of the desired constructions will be used. In natural speech investigations, the interviewer may ask questions designed to elicit a desired response. While this may not always prove successful, the researcher may, at the very least, attempt to extend the interview in order to gather more sample. For a writing sample, however, the researcher's control is more limited. These data were gathered in classroom situations, where adequate numbers of students could be put to the task at once. The passage topics were controlled by the teacher at San Juan Day School, but at Laguna Elementary the choice of topic was left to the students. It appears that this has had some effect upon the data gathered. The Laguna samples are longer overall, and judging by the inventories (cf. Appendix A), they appear to have larger numbers of spoken language features incorporated into them as well. Another effect which different sampling procedures may have had was the limitation of the range of lexical items in the San Juan samples. Many San Juan students used the same words and descriptions to react to the assigned task, while Laguna writers employed a wider variety of situations and vocabulary words. The control group writing samples were also gathered from a controlled-topic classroom assignment. While individual passage size was about one page, a number of Laguna students exceeded this length.

5.2.1 The Identification of Structures

In our investigation, all the written samples were carefully read and all variations from standard English were recorded. These formed a general inventory of the written variations which were compared against the inventory of features which have been attributed to the conversational speech of the respective communities. Some features have been singled out for more thorough investigation than others, primarily those which promise to give insight into the depth of grammatical influence of the spoken varieties. In addition, we have taken a more extensive look at the use of inflectional endings in writing.

In preparing the data, we reviewed every writing variation and assigned it to one of the following categories: (1) Spelling; (2) Mechanical (3) Non-word; and (4) Oral Language-Related. This final category is further divided into an itemized list of the speech features to which each written token was assigned. The assignment of variation to the first three categories named will be discussed in more detail first.

The 'spelling' category included the majority of the graphemic deviations from standard English spelling conventions. If the representation of a word was a possible reflection of phonological characteristic of the spoken variety of English, it was, of course, placed in another category. Many deviations, however, clearly stem from the acquisition of standard, but arbitrary, spelling conventions. Some typical examples from this category include: to for too, shuve for shove, and shinning for shining.

The characterization of a variation as 'mechanical' indicates that it possesses one of a series of non-dialectally related characteristics. These examples differ from spelling errors in that they generally involve lexical choices, grammatical constructions, and word order, as opposed to intra-word graphemic choices. The difference between these two categories is evident if the mechanical errors which follow are compared to the examples of spelling errors given above. We found a wide range of writing variations that could not be explained by either language influence or spelling. Factors such as writing skills acquisition, accidental errors, and general language acquisition lead to deviations which, for our purposes, can most conveniently be grouped together in a category of 'mechanical' errors. Although some of these variations appeared at first to be likely candidates for showing influence from the spoken language, they were included here when no direct link to a specific, known, feature of San Juan or Laguna English could be found. Some examples from this category are given in the following list:

	Observed	Expected
LE(6/7)[2]	...then I'll would tell you who.....	...then I'll tell you who...
LE(9/3)	She wants to have a baby and the name is Bobby Jr.....	She want to have a baby named Bobby, Jr.....

LE(44/2)...I feel bad about my cat got....	I feel bad because my cat got....
SJ(4/6) The 1st thing I did't was.....	The 1st thing I did was....
SJ(5/3) I won a lots of thing.....	I won a lot of things.....

We should offer some comment on the construction of 'expected' and 'observed' response designations. This type of categorization is borrowed from reading studies in which the text is 'expected' and the oral reading output is the 'observed' response. Clearly, this delineation is somewhat artificial for studies of writing, since no expected response can actually exist in advance of the author's observed output. In any investigation of writing, however, there is an implicit comparison of the written constructions with the constructions of mainstream English varieties. Our label simply formalizes this assumption by creating an 'expected' response based on a likely corresponding structure in mainstream English. While the establishment of this correspondence is certainly open to alternative interpretations, in most cases, this assumption seems adequate for our purposes here.

In the examples of mechanical errors in the list above, it would no doubt be possible to develop plausible hypotheses which would explain some of them as products of spoken language influence. We have refrained from doing this primarily because it would require information beyond our current understanding of the English of San Juan and Laguna. In addition, many of the writing errors which were designated as mechanical occurred only one time. This prohibited any investigation of recurring structures. It should be noted here that we do not include conventionally recognized aspects such as capitalization and punctuation. We do not mean to minimize these problems, but they are simply not the focus of our study. Finally, it should be pointed out that students in the control group also produced items which were characterized as mechanical errors. For the control groups, items were placed in this category only after we had eliminated the possibility of any influences from spoken regional varieties of English or from any spoken structures which are widely shared by non-mainstream varieties.

A certain consistency exists in the data from the three groups (Laguna, San Juan and control) with regard to the frequency of writing errors in this mechanical category. Writing variations accounted for in this way composed the second most frequent type of feature for both Laguna and the control group. Spelling errors were the most common feature for all three groups. While it is not possible to extrapolate absence/potential frequencies for this feature, it is interesting to note the frequency of mechanical errors within the entire corpus of features for each group. What is noteworthy is that despite the somewhat subjective criteria for inclusion in this category, the percentages are very close for all three groups. San Juan writers authored seven of these errors, which accounts for 9.3 percent of their total corpus. For Laguna, 12.8 percent of their total sample were mechanical errors, and for the control group, 10.3 percent were mechanical problems. Given the closeness of these scores, in a category for which there was no preordinate design, it is tempting to speculate as to what these three groups of writers have in common which is tapped by this category. Impressionistically, the most apparent commonalities among all three groups are age and grade levels. Perhaps these errors are related then to skill development in writing, or to language acquisition processes. Without further study, of course, this remains speculative. At any rate, it is noteworthy that there is no significant difference between the control group and the two groups of Indian students in this regard.

The category entitled 'non-word' was reserved for items which did not resemble English lexical items enough to be recognizable as words. There were relatively few instances of these and we made a serious attempt to reduce the number by interpreting the contexts in which the items occurred. A few times, however, the intent of the author simply eluded us (e.g. gtay, cunen, onceees, welld). When neither context nor reasonable speculation could help interpret a word, it was placed in this category.

From the inventories we can gain insight into the range of features which transfer from spoken English into writing. We can also judge the frequency of such items vis-a-vis other sources of variation. By comparing the items recorded for the control group, we can suggest what types of writing miscues and errors may be more generalizable to all students. The control group writing inventory contains the smallest number of variety-related structures, although there are some miscues which seem attributable to generalized non-standard forms in English. We will discuss these during our consideration of the control inventory. We also found several features which may be attributable to Southern White English influence, no doubt reflecting some regional influences for the metropolitan Washington, D. C. area.

5.2.2 Laguna Inventory

As was mentioned previously, the Laguna writers produced the most items assignable to their variety of spoken English. We tabulated 41 separate types of writing miscues which might parallel features of the English spoken by Laguna Elementary School students. Many of these cannot be discussed in terms of meaningful percentages, as they occurred only once or twice in the sample. Despite the infrequency of many of the features, there is a wide range of Laguna speech characteristics which appear. Often, a feature infrequently attested in the speech of younger speakers (but more common for the older generations) will appear once or twice in the writing samples. Commonly, if there are only one or two attestations, one writer will produce both of them. A complex variety of language background factors probably determines which speakers will use these less frequently found features.

The most common speech features realized in Laguna writing relate to the deletion of inflectional suffixes. The absence of -ing, -ed, and the /Z/ forms (plural -s, third person singular -s, possessive -s) were the most frequent forms. As a group, the absence of these suffixes was more common than any other grammatical or phonological phenomena, surpassed in the entire sample only be spelling and mechanical errors. Evidence is presented by Whiteman (forthcoming) which suggests that the writing process itself plays an important role in accounting for the absence of these suffixes. While the deletion of these suffixes may occur in speech, Whiteman notes that the frequency of absence is actually higher in written language. She concludes that a combination of acquisitional factors, oral language patterns, and the inherent nature of certain linguistic structures accounts for this absence.

Suffix absence was distributed throughout the sample, although some writers exhibited a greater incidence than others. Only two or three other features were distributed evenly among the writers. In many cases, a majority of a feature's examples were concentrated in one or two speakers. Subject-verb concord was one feature which was produced by several writers. While its incidence was not as high as that found for suffixial deletion, its distribution suggests that it is an influence from the speech of Laguna students. There are several possible types of subject-verb concord, as we showed in Chapters Three and Four. Most of the non-mainstream concord for natural speech among younger speakers focuses on expletive there with a plural subject, e.g. There's three of us that are starting up (23:18) and on don't with singular subjects, as in My brother don't have to...(11:15). Very few different concord structures were found with non-be verbs. Another distinction arose regarding separated and non-separated sentences. This refers to whether there is intervening material between the subject and the verb. Separated sentences (The knights that came in was killed...39:10) showed non-concordance more frequently that did "non-separated" sentences (His nerves was just moving (10:18)).

Laguna writers reflected their natural speech patterns (cf. Section 4.5) for this feature, albeit in much smaller percentages. Six examples of sentences containing instances of non-mainstream concord were extracted from the data. They were produced by five different writers, out of a total sample of 66 individuals. No attempt was made to tabulate all the potential occurrences since the number of examples was so small to begin with. The instances of non-mainstream concord found in the writing samples are the following:

(6) There is a lot of girls (2/7)
That's all the girls (2/8)
The teachers I hate is (19/1)
Once they was three little pig (34/1)
The knights that came in was killed (39/10)
They was some robocks...There name was CP30 and R2D2 (12/3)

Of the six examples, it seems apparent that the expletive there constraint favors singular concord marking with plural subjects in writing just as in speech. Also, it appears that the separation of the plural subject from the verb favors singular concord marking here just as in spoken language. And, all the examples are restricted to be. Even on the basis of so few examples, it seems reasonable to conclude that the written code here reflects the spoken code.

One of the prominent features of a number of non-mainstream varieties is the irregular verb forms. As we saw in Chapter Three (Section 3.2.3), this can take a number of different forms, including regularization, preterit form for participle, participle for preterit, undifferentiated preterit forms, and different strong forms. The only examples we have revealed in the Laguna writing sample are preterit for participle, as in:

(7) He would have got in a fight (24/10)
She will get beat up by me (57/34)

Neither of these examples in (7) are particularly obtrusive, and are probably acceptable as standard forms in most spoken varieties of English. The upshot is that little verb irregularity is revealed in the Laguna sample. While there were seven cases of preterit for participle revealed in the sample, six of these seven were written by one author.

Three features involving pronouns were observed in the writing data. There were occasional examples of relative and personal pronoun deletion and a somewhat greater incidence of pronominal apposition (or left dislocation). Pronominal apposition is a grammatical process in which the sentence subject and a pronoun copy both occur, resulting in sentences such as (8):

(8) Then Kelly he came on his molacico...(36/16)
Another woman she was sunburned real bad (51/5)

Pronominal apposition is a very common non-mainstream feature. It can be found in most varieties of English, including the informal speech of mainstream speakers. We mention it here because it was present in Laguna speech and evidenced itself seven times in the writing samples. The tokens were widely distributed; six writers accounted for the seven examples. Since six authors make up almost ten percent of the sample, pronomial apposition must be viewed as one of the most widely distributed features in the writing. Because it is so common in English, it was not investigated in natural speech here, except to confirm its existence. (cf. Appendix A).

The other pronoun-related features were an occasional absence of personal and relative pronouns. These were also distributed widely throughout the sample, with no writer realizing either type of absence more than once. A total of four personal and four relative pronouns were deleted. These absences resulted in sentences such as the following:

(9) Once they was three little pig __Ø__ built a house. (34/1)
...because __Ø__ am going to call the police. (44/8)

Both of these features were recorded for Laguna natural speech, however the very small percentages of incidence make a full investigation of them unnecessary. Since we did not comment on these features, we will not speculate on their nature other than to attest them.

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A few isolated instances were recorded in which an author employed prepositions in a non-mainstream fashion. We have attested fairly large numbers of these occurrences at both Laguna and San Juan, yet their source is unclear. Preposition usage, especially in, on and at, varies widely and tends to be highly lexicalized. Whatever the source of these miscues, it seems reasonable to say that in most cases the deviation from mainstream is at the surface level and does not appear to affect meaning significantly. Three examples from the writing data were as follows:

(10) I hope you are at the game in the night. (tonight) (9/5)
I don't like them, and of all I care....(19/3)
...the other lady was sunburned in her face...(51/5)

Even in mainstream varieties certain preposition usages vary considerably, for instance:

(11) I was standing in line.
I was standing on line.

Please step into the elevator.
Please step onto the elevator.

Clearly, some of the Laguna examples show greater variation than these, and it should be noted that the incidence of this feature is diminishing among younger speakers. Perhaps, then, some of the less mainstream forms, e.g. ...of all I care...(19/3), are the result of language acquisition and will disappear with age. Certainly non-mainstream preposition forms are highly visible in spoken language, and may play their most significant role in influencing the teacher's perceptions of student language ability.

In addition to those features already discussed, other grammatically-based features appear incidentally. Specifically, these features were realized in one or two of the 66 samples when the potential for their use was much higher. This comment regarding potential occurrence is an impressionistic one, since no formal tabulations were made. Most of these features were also characterized by relatively infrequent use in natural speech. It is interesting that language features which have seemingly little influence on conversational speech, especially among elementary school children, would surface in writing exercises. This could be accounted for in a number of ways. Perhaps some of the writing miscues which we have attributed to spoken language influence were in fact mechanical errors, produced accidentally or due to acquisitional influences. Alternately, the informal circumstances under which the Laguna sample was collected may have encouraged the students to write with less regard for standard English writing conventions, thereby producing scattered examples of a wide range of their spoken language features. The formal conventions of writing tend to filter out less strong natural speech features, except for those which are compounded by graphic considerations or writing skills development, as in the case of inflectional suffixer. The San Juan and control group writing samples, which were gathered in a more conventional classroom environment, with specified topics, evidence considerably fewer features of their respective varieties than do the samples from Laguna. Further Laguna data, gathered in a traditional classroom setting, could confirm whether the current Laguna samples have an unusually high degree of non-mainstream features due to the methodology employed in collecting them.

Many of the irregularly occurring features were deletions. To absence occurred once in this sentence:

(12) Then they were ___ go to Houstin...(36/18)

The story was in a future tense, leaving no doubt as to the intent of the author. To absence was found regularly in San Juan speech, but was not a regular feature of Laguna speakers. This suggests the possibility of accidental omission.

Auxiliary deletion occurs in both communities and seems to be slowly disappearing in favor of mainstream usage patterns. Our single example, however, was a clear one:

(13) ...he should not eaven _Ø_ had that party. (57/7)

While auxiliary deletion may be disappearing, the deletion of have is still the most common form. This supports our interpretation of this as a variety-related example.

Two other features which involved deletions were -ly absence and and deletion in serialization. Both were infrequent in speech and made only single appearances in writing. -ly absence is a highly generalized non-mainstream characteristic, which can be heard even among mainstream speakers to some extent. The absence of and in serialization is not characteristic of adult speech and may have its source in the acquistion of the writing process. The examples we recorded were:

(14) and absence ...Bob, Mary, Ellen, ___Allen. They
are all my friends...(24/23)

(15) -*ly* absence ...They are fun, but you can get cut bad___.
(59/4)

One of the more frequently realized features in the data was article absence. Article absence was not uncommon in adult Laguna speech. Deletions of both *a* and *the* occurred. This feature had a comparatively wide distribution, eight tokens by five subjects. One student deleted articles three times. One might suspect that the absence of small function words (i.e. articles) in writing, is partially mechanical in origin. Since these words are often not critical to the meaning of a sentence, less care is sometimes taken to see that they are included. In addition to this possibility, investigations have shown article absence in all generations at both Laguna and San Juan, although the concentration was among older speakers. Article absence in speech appears to be one of the many features attributable to second language acquisition for the older generation. Like most of the L_2 characteristics of adult speech, article absence has faded considerably among school children of both Pueblos and is now observed only occasionally. Article absence was found, however, in the writing samples from both Indian communities. No control group writers deleted articles in their writing and article absence does not occur in their speech. From this, we can conclude that some article absence from the speech of Laguna children is carrying over into their writing samples. The amount of absence, however, is certainly inflated by the incomplete acquisition of writing skills and the natural tendency to delete function words which are not essential to communication. This tendency has been commented on before, by Fasold (1972) and Whiteman (1976), with regard to the "simplification" of non-critical aspects of communication. The deletion of articles seems, in many cases, to fit into this category. This combination of oral and written language influences helps explain why article absence appeared more frequently in writing than did other occasional speech features. Two examples of article absence at Laguna were:

(16) ...Thats __Ø__ way I like her...(2/3)

(17) ....and I saw __Ø__ profootball(game)...(36/1)

The use of introductory *that* or *those* is fairly common in Laguna speech, yet only two cases (one of *that* and one of *those*) was found in the writing samples. In (18a) the narrative begins with *that*, while in (18b) a new subject in the narrative is introduced with *those*.

(18) a. ...*that* fat boy eats the wrappers (50/1)

b. ...we were watching and *those* kids that were with us...(60/3)

Cases such as (18a) are most reasonably attributed to the influence of the spoken language system which employs that in an introductory capacity, which is somewhat different from the mainstream referential system.

In some varieties of English multiple negation is a regular and socially obtrusive feature. This is the case for both Laguna and San Juan. As with certain other isolated variables, the youngest generation of Laguna speakers actually indicates a greater use of multiple negation than the older people (cf. Section 4.2). Since multiple negation is common to elementary-aged speakers, it might follow that this form would be common in writing samples as well. In fact, only two examples occurred in all the samples. Part of the reason for this low number may be that Laguna writers simply chose to include few negative sentences. In 66 samples, only 28 sentences occurred which involved negation. Of those 28, four contained the negative plus indefiniate environment necessary for a multiple negative construction. Two of those four sentences were realized with negative concord. Hence, while half of the potential negative concord sentences did take that form, two examples is too small a sample on which to determine the strength of a feature. We would hypothesize, however, that if larger numbers of potentially multiple negative sentences were gathered, this might prove to be a feature which appears regularly in writing.

One non-mainstream comparative construction surfaced in the writing samples. Laguna speakers employ a number of these constructions in their conversational speech, including pleonastic comparatives and neutralized comparative/superlatives. The use of these forms in speech tends to be scattered throughout all the age groups, although the greatest concentrations are found among the older speakers. This generational distributions involved the neutralization of a superlative, as shown in (19):

(19) I like him alot than anybody. (45/12)

The inclusion of such a phrase is a lexical choice, as opposed to the use of an alternative grammatical construction. This seems to be an example related directly to spoken language patterns. Since only one speaker/writer is involved, however, support for the role of oral language influence in writing is at best tentative.

One feature of spoken language which we did not expect to find in writing was the associative plural and them. This structure seemed to be one which would be learned quite early as an oral and not a written language form. In fact, however, one such form occurs, shown in (20).

(20) One day Tom and em went to go fishing...(38/1)

As seen in (20), the form is even found in its alternate pronunciation 'em. This case seems to be an isolated instance of a student whose writing skills are quite strongly influenced by the spoken language, even to the point of using em as an impromptu contraction. Such a form indicates a fairly strong reliance upon intuitions from oral language, and we would suspect that it is the type of oral language influence which would be identified and eliminated in the earliest stages of writing acquisition. It is somewhat surprising that it would still persist in a fourth grader.

Two tokens in the writing samples suggest a noun reclassification. In the oral language sample, examples were found of count noun distinctions being expanded to include items not normally used this way. Potteries, as in the Laguna potteries (60:12) and breads, as in a whole bunch of breads (49:13) were among these items. While such restructuring tends to be specific to individuals, mostly older ones, rather than involving community wide patterns (Section 4.4.2), we found little evidence of these features in use in writing, although one San Juan writer did use potteries (cf. Section 5.2.3). We also found some examples in the oral language in which an adjective modifying a noun had replaced the noun, which was then deleted. Two potential examples of this feature appeared in the writing samples. When using the phrase the football game, two speakers deleted the noun game and used its modifier football as the noun:

(21) Also, I saw a profootball. The K.C. Chiefs play the California Rams...(36/10)

...and they were at the football and they were showing off. (57:30)

In both cases it is made clear by context that football refers to the game, and not to a ball. No other comparable examples of this occurred, although certain parallels are attested in speech. As with the other noun reclassifications, it appears that these are used on an individual basis, rather than community-wide, and they may relate to specific lexical items. While clearly oral language-related in writing, the parameters of this feature remain to be explored.

The pluralization of the pronoun others is a feature which appeared frequently in all age groups in Laguna speech. We suggested that the suffix -s may reflect the plurality of the referent (section 4.4.2). In writing, others occurred only once, in they go with each others (56/3), but this low frequency is a reflection of the infrequent use of the word other in elementary school writings, since there were so few potential examples. We would, however, expect that a larger sample would turn up more examples in writing.

Thus far we have limited our discussion to grammatically-based spoken language features which have appeared in the writing samples of Laguna Elementary students. An equal number of phonologically-based LE features can be found in these writing samples as well. Very little description has been done on the influence of phonological differences in written texts because of the difficulty of isolating this source. Many of the apparent phonological miscues may be mechanical or spelling errors. In fact, the convergence of phonological and mechanical bases on some of the examples which we will cite cannot be denied. Most of these examples consist of single words which are spelled "incorrectly" but whose spelling accurately reflects a phonological rule of Laguna English. This investigation is aided somewhat by the prevalence of non-mainstream phonological features among the younger speakers. While grammatical influences tend to loose strength among younger speakers, phonologically-based features may remain in evidence in the young as in the older generations. Since there is fairly consistent use of certain non-mainstream phonological features among children, we can assume that this will be an excellent opportunity to see if phonological features do in fact, appear in writing. In varieties where these features are less prominent, the potential for finding such influences would be less and the confounding problems of mechanical convergence would be concomitantly greater.

One of the most complex features in the sample, regardless of its source, was copula deletion. Its complexity arises from the number of sources which converge in writing to have a potential effect on its surface form. We have included copula deletion under phonologically-based phenomena, although it is potentially influenced by several other constraints. Quantitatively, copula deletion was adequately represented in writing, with five examples from different subjects. Copula deletion has been documented for several non-mainstream varieties of English. In our consideration of the speech samples for Laguna and San Juan, however, we found only isolated cases of copula deletion, and most of them were concentrated in the older generation, where it was apparently related to a second language acquisitional modification. Examples of copula absence in writing are given in (22):

(22) It ___ scary to ...(6/7)
...that___all I have to say (8/6)
I like her and she_neat (42/3)

In attempting to account for the source of such deletion, simple attestation of isolated cases of copula deletion in the speech of the children does not seem adequate. The frequency of deletion in speech is well below 5 percent. We thus must appeal to a source which extends beyond this isomorphic influence. For this feature, it seems that the process of copula contraction (e.g. she's, it's may produce items with written suffixes, such as 's or 're. The fact that forms such as (22) are so typically realized as contractions (It's, that's she's) would certainly predispose them for interpretation as suffixes. And, once they are established as suffixes, they are subject to the processes in writing which allow suffixes to be deleted more frequently than they are in speech. Such a relationship has clearly been documented by Whiteman (forthcoming) for several different types of suffixes, and seems to include copula contraction as well.

Our tabulations from speech and writing confirm what Whiteman has found. Counting our five examples of copula deletion as a suffix deletion feature, six of the ten most common writing miscue forms were suffix deletion phenomena. This, in itself, lends support for the evidence that suffix deletion occurs as a product of the writing process, since these six features are not equally prominent in the speech of Laguna Elementary students. The deletion appears more frequent in writing than in speech, while other features exhibit an opposite tendency, thus suggesting that writing-specific influences are playing a role in their presence.

We tabulated copula deletion based only on is. Since was cannot be contracted in the same manner, it would not be affected by the writing process as Whiteman has suggested. Several percentages were generated for this feature which help clarify how it fits into the patterns of writing-specific miscues. Of the 66 samples collected and analyzed, only 31 contained the copula is, either in contracted/contractable form, or in full form. The author's choice of tense partially determined the frequency of samples containing is, and stylistics primarily determined whether contractions were realized in places where it was grammatically possible to do so. Five of those 31 authors realized a copula deletion, or 16.1 percent. This is considerably higher than the percentage of elementary-aged speakers who would produce this feature in speech. Among those 31 authors, 75 copulas were produced in all forms. The resulting 6.7 percent absence rate is higher than the rate for even the oldest Laguna speakers, individuals for whom English is a second language. These figures clearly suggest a convergence of influences which result in a much higher rate of copula absence in writing.

Copula deletion in Laguna provides a good example of how writing as a language activity differs from, and is not simply a representation of, speech. In effect, separate rules govern copula deletion in writing and speech in this circumstance, and we cannot simply look to spoken language influence.

Nine phonological features used by Laguna speakers were traced to specific alterations of standard spelling conventions. The similarity between the written forms and the pronunciation of the words by LE speakers appears to be strong. This connection is supported by the use of the phonics method in the school, where the students are encouraged to spell "phonically" and are instructed in the use of phonics conventions toward the goal of "sounding out" words. The success of this method relies partially on the students' perceptions of how a word is pronounced. The connection between the phonological characteristics and the misspellings in the writing samples is striking in many instances. In the following paragraphs, we shall document some of these cases.

The predominance of n over ŋ in syllable-final unstressed positions is one feature which clearly exhibits its influence in writing. This is a very prominent spoken feature among younger LE speakers and some preliminary tabulations have indicated that its frequency is well over 90 percent. In writing, several examples of this apparent phonological influence were found:

(23) He will be in the stinken hospital (8/4)
They are always fighten (11/1)
Thats when I got this felen [feeling] (27/4)

Each of these examples was authored by a different student, and all demonstrated a knowledge of the standard -ing form elsewhere in their essays. This is significant, because in the examples above the students are clearly not employing an abbreviated form of -ing, such as stinkin, or fightin. Rather, they seem to be making a distinction, based upon pronunciation, between -ing and -en. Their choice of suffixes seems to show a deliberate intent. What these students have demonstrated is that in using the phonic method of spelling they are employing their own pronunciations as guidelines for correctness and so are displaying thier understanding of English sound-letter correspondences. The other single phoneme influences which follow may suggest the same process.

The use of a stop corresponding to an interdental fricative is a common feature of Laguna English. Thus, it might not seem surprising that one writer wrote the following:

(24) Thats when I called de police (27/6)

While such a rendering certainly makes some sense in terms of the phonological system, this is unusual since the form is so graphically distinct from the, and the is such a fundamental word for beginning writers. However, the phonological/graphemic rendering in this one instance is exact.

The absence of l in syllable final position appears to have surfaced amidst a general spelling problem for one writer. Pronunciations such as [sku:] 'school' (13:450) are fairly common among elementary-aged students. One writer seemed to transfer this form into writing in his rendition of the word motorcycle. In combination with other spelling variations, the student adapted the final l to fit his perceptions:

(25) Then he and Kelly came on the molocico (36/18)

This was an isolated example.

Three vowel alterations appeared in the writing texts. These involved the three primary vowel variations from mainstream pronunciation in Laguna English. Compared to consonant modifications, vowel variations are relatively frequent. This is probably due to the greater complexity in the graphemic representations of vowels in English spelling. Students tend to acquire the vowel representations later than consonants. Without great confidence in the representation of vowels, dialect realizations might intrude more readily. Naturally, it is possible that some of the items which may represent spoken language influence might also result from mechanical errors, so that we cannot always be confident in our conclusions. Quite obviously, there are factors other than spoken language influence which account for the majority of vowel misspellings. This observation does not, however, detract from the observation that the spoken language influence can be manifested in vowel misspelling and must be considered as a legitimate source for certain examples.

A neutralization of the ɛ / æ distinction is common in Laguna speech, as found in items like [kɛndi] 'candy' (10/619) or [tælz]'tells' (11:343). Evidence of the lack of this distinction among Laguna youngsters appeared three times when writers used the words then and than.

(26) ....than they came to a road...(60/10)
I like him more then anybody. (45/12)
....than a hunter cam along...(60/11)

The number of times which than and then appeared in the texts was prohibitively low, so no statistical information was compiled for this feature. It is important to keep in mind that writers have the opportunity to edit their material, if it does not meet their criteria for proper written language. In all three of these cases the authors' graphic intent was unambiguous and there were no attempted changes. We would hypothesize that in these three cases the students understood the semantic distinctions which were being made, and felt them properly intact. Phonologically, however, they may not distinguish between than and then, which may influence the graphic representations of the two words.

A second, and more ambiguous vowel alteration occurred on the ə/a distinction. LE speakers demonstrate occasional [a] for [ə] orally with such examples as [əman] 'among' (51:351) and [samtin] 'something' (49:642). One written example might be interpreted to reflect this feature:

(27) Once upun a time....(29/1)

The third and final vowel related miscue also crossed grammatical boundaries, as did then/than. The neutralization of [i] and [I] is realized regularly by both children and adults.

(28)	[livIn]	'living'	(34:3)
	[dis]	'this'	(11:22)
	[skiʔ]	'skid'	(10:1525)

Two interesting examples appeared in writing, one of them particularly valuable as evidence of influence.

(29) ...his married and has no children. (47/1)
...thats when I got the filling of...(16/4)

The author of the first example had very clear handwriting, leaving no doubt as to the intended representation. The semantic and grammatical difference between he is married and his married is considerable. When the form is considered as an example of phonological neutralization, however, the sentence becomes easily understandable. The second example, feeling → filling, is also a case of two forms being semantically and phonologically distinct in mainstream English. In the phonological system of the Laguna student, however, these two forms are nearly identical. As with any two forms which are pronounced similarly, the likelihood of confusing them is high, especially among inexperienced writers.

Two observations suggest that these miscues have been influenced by phonological features of the writers' oral variety. First, the words involved are all very basic words, typically acquired early in the writing acquisition process. There is little possibility that the 5th and 6th grade students in this sample are unfamiliar with then, than, he's, his, upon, or feeling. Since the writers should be familiar with these words, their renditions in our sample may represent a temporary lack of formal knowledge. In many cases the misspelling will fluctuate with the correct spelling. Since the Laguna samples were gathered with an emphasis on informal, non-school style, and most of the writing reflects this, we would suggest that many spelling deviations stem from a decreased concern with conventions. The other evidence pointing to spoken language influence is the accuracy with which the students translate their spoken language into written English.

Perhaps the most unequivocal examples of phonological influence in writing came from hw retention. The aspiration of initial /w/ on words not normally aspirated in mainstream English can be found at both San Juan and Laguna, at all age levels. In the Laguna writing samples, two writers' desire to "sound out" words resulted in:

(30) ...then I could go whith you. (30/5)
...but he does not whant to go. (56/5)

The retention of hw can also be heard in both San Juan and Laguna students' oral reading samples.

One final example can be discussed. The simplification of monomorphemic consonant clusters, while quite common in speech, is apparently very infrequent in writing (Whiteman, forthcoming). Our study provides further evidence for this. (Monomorphemic clusters are those in which both consonants belong to the same meaning unit, as in the ld of cold.) Only one instance in which a final consonant of such a cluster appeared to be omitted was found in the Laguna writing samples:

(31) The firs_ time I saw a Bunny ...(27/1)

Given the large number of words where this type of cluster appears, the frequency of deletion based on one example would be insignificant. In the context of this example, the t would certainly be expected to be absent in spoken language. In the LE speech samples, deletion of a final consonant in such a cluster before a following consonant occurs 80.3 percent of the time. Considering this feature's regularity in speech, the infrequency of this form in writing reinforces the hypothesis that the processes governing writing are in some ways distinct from those involved in oral language.

The influence of oral language on the writing skills of Laguna Elementary students could perhaps be described as having breadth, but not depth. We have shown that a wide variety of oral language characteristics can be found in writing samples. The degree of parallel between the oral forms and the written examples in most of these cases is very high, making it clear that the same phenomena are occurring in writing and speech. Why they are transferred, if that is what happens, is somewhat unclear. While a broad spectrum of forms are represented, most of them have surfaced only one or two times. The most frequently occurring oral language forms, inflectional suffix deletions, have been shown to occur in part due to the writing process itself. Writing skills acquisition can be said to have an effect on the written miscues in many cases. Relatively little is known about writing skills acquisition, however, and the areas of possible interface between oral language forms and writing-specific language forms are by and large unknown. Since 10 to 12 year old students have acquired the majority of their oral language features already, it seems very unlikely that they would reinvent identical forms in writing, independant of influence from speech. While the two forms of language are certainly different, oral language does form the basis for the development of writing skills.

It seems clear that some of the oral language forms evident in writing appear there as a result of phonological features in speech which influence attempts to spell. The current practice at the local school is to teach spelling through phonics, and this no doubt increases the incidence of orally related errors. Having mastered the orthographic representation of English, the students then "spell it like it sounds" quite accurately, for their variety of English. This strategy certainly holds the potential for resulting in *hw* retention, *n* for *ŋ* and *e* for *a*. While teachers may view the resultant words as misspellings, they actually demonstrate an excellent command and accurate utilization of the school skills they have been taught. The attribution of certain grammatical features is not as straightforward. A number of the grammatically-based forms which appeared in the writing probably did so, in part, because they were function words. *To* absence, auxiliary deletion, pronoun absence, and others are likely to be overlooked by the student who is proofreading for content, since they are small words and are facilitating meaning in most cases, not carrying it. Because their absence may be part of the authors' speech, they are more liable to escape the editing process. A number of other grammatical forms which appear may be a result of writing acquisition processes. Learning the distinctions between proper oral and written language styles is a long process, one which is apparently not completed by the 5th or 6th grade. Several nonmainstream forms found in the samples from Laguna do not look grammatically incorrect and are very common in spoken English, even among many mainstream speakers. When these young authors become more selective about written style in English, forms such as pronominal apposition (*Kelly, he went*...) and introductory *that*, may disappear.

The environment in which the Laguna samples were done may have contributed significantly to increase the variety of oral language forms for which there was some evidence in writing. Rather than writing about normal school composition topics (How I Spent My Summer Vacation), the students were encouraged to write about anything that interested them and were assured that most topics would be acceptable. They were also assured that their work would not be graded. Comparing these samples to the San Juan and control group essays, which were gathered in a conventional classroom assignment, the Laguna essays are clearly more casually written, with an emphasis on content and little on style or form.

What the Laguna essays contained with an excellent rendition of their oral language. Features which do not appear frequently, even in speech, found their way into these writing samples. This suggest that much further research needs to be done in the area of writing and oral language interface. Some of the evidence here would suggest that writing "filters" non-mainstream features out of student language, when writing takes place under school influenced constraints. The Laguna samples, however, suggest that this filter effect does not categorically occur when writing takes place.

5.2.3 The San Juan Inventory

As mentioned earlier, we have considerably fewer writing samples from San Juan than Laguna. Whereas we had 66 useable essays in Laguna, we had only 10 for San Juan. This is a serious discrepancy in sample size, but we are still able to make some observations on the basis of these samples.

Our taxonomy of variations in the San Juan essays matched that we used in classifying the Laguna variations. According to this taxonomy, we ascribed 17 different San Juan variations to the potential influence of the spoken language of the community. In terms of raw figures, this is considerably less than the 41 we found in Laguna. Proportionally, however, it is greater than Laguna given the difference in sample size.

Spelling errors were the greatest source of deviation from mainstream English. This was true for Laguna as well as San Juan. Proportionally, more deviations in San Juan's corpus were spelling related. 38.6 percent of San Juan's variations were assigned to the spelling category, as compared with 31 percent at Laguna. The similarity between these figures is high, and becomes even higher when the percentages of mechanical error are added to this non-oral language related category. By combining the percentages from the spelling and mechanical categories, we arrive at a figure which reflects the proportion of the total corpus which was non-oral language related. This combined percentage for San Juan was 47.9 percent and for Laguna, 43.8 percent. In other words, slightly less than one-half of the deviations from mainstream written English were not directly traceable to oral language influences. These numbers are quite close, which suggests that the overall strength of spoken variety influence is similar in the two communities.

Turning to the inventory of orally influenced features, we find a situation which bears much similarity to Laguna's corpus of forms. Slightly more than half (52.9%) of San Juan's features were of grammatical origin. The others were phonologically based, or were inflectional suffixes, which have proven to have complicated convergent sources. Many of the oral language grammatical forms which San Juan and Laguna speakers share were realized in the San Juan writing samples. These included to absence, article absence, consonant cluster reduction, unmarked past tense constructions, non-mainstream subject-verb concord, multiple negation, and a/an neutralization. We will discuss each of these briefly. In addition to these features found in common, a number of other grammatical forms appeared which were unique to San Juan's corpus. Certain phonological forms from San Juan speech were realized in their written samples, although there were fewer instances than at Laguna, where ten phonological forms from LE were associated with forms from the Laguna writing samples.

Suffix absence was common at San Juan, although its scope was much more limited than at Laguna. This, of course, could be due in part to differences in sample size. The absence of -ed was the most commonly found form, even more frequent than mechanical errors. Plural -s absence also occurred a number of times, but the other /Z/ forms, verbal -s and possessive -s, were not absent at all.

Several types of negative concord were realized in speech at both San Juan and Laguna, but only the most common of them was realized in writing. Negative concord involving the negation of post-verbal indefinites is the predominant form of this feature. This occurs when the negative in the verb phrase is repeated in, or "copied" into, the indefinite following the verb phrase. Only one example was found in writing, despite its regular realization in speech:

(32) ...but I didn't want to get nothing. (10/15)

An investigation of the potential occurrences in the corpus helps explain the infrequent realization of multiple negation. Nine negative constructions were employed by the sample writers at San Juan. Of those, four contained the construction necessary to realize a multiple negative.

Non-mainstream marking of subject-verb agreement is also a structure which is found only incidentally in our San Juan corpus. One example occurs, and it involves the verb be in a "separated" sentence.

(33) The things I like best is the fish display
and the carnival (6/25)

This example is somewhat complicated by the fact that the essay was in the past tense, so that it appeared that -ed was also absent from like. Nonetheless, the use of the singular be form with a plural subject is clear. The lack of non-mainstream concord in writing can be accounted for as well in terms of the low number of potentials within the sample. No sentences involving doesn't with third person singular subjects were recorded. Further, only two there plus be sentences were found in the San Juan samples. Since these are the two most frequent areas of non-mainstream concord in the oral language, this means that the writers gave themselves relatively few chances to produce them.

Article absence is a feature whose frequency in writing would suggest that it is a common speech characteristic. Articles were omitted four times by San Juan speakers, making it the most frequent non-inflectional deletion. Three of these items, however, occurred in one sample. Young San Juan students do not actually omit articles regularly. Article absence is most common among the oldest generation. In the written essays, the was deleted three times and a once. All three the deletions occurred in one sample, before the phrase state fair:

(34) I went to ____state fair (5/1)
I has fun at ____state fair (5/2)
...games at____state fair (5/6)

Examples identical to these (there was ____state fair (112:12), they won ____championship (80:23)) from San Juan speech suggest that there may be a semantic category employed by some San Juan speakers which does not require an article in the same manner as does mainstream English. In other San Juan writing samples, state fair was preceded by an article. For one student at least, the absence in writing appears to result from spoken language influence. Absence of a also occurred on one occasion.

(35) ...and they had____photo display (6/13)

State fairs, photo displays, and championships are all public participation events and their commonalities may suggest the form of a semantic category whose members do not require a preceding article.

Two features which appear occasionally in the speech of San Juan youths were recorded in the writing samples. Both of these features were also found in Laguna speech and writing. *To* absence is more predominent at San Juan than Laguna, although only one example could be found in the written essays:

(36) we went___the state fair on...(3/18)

The neutralization of *a* and *an* distinctions is fairly common at San Juan. The single potential occurrence of this feature involved the use of *a* instead of *an*; however one example provides very little evidence from which to determine how this feature operates.

(37) I saw *a Indian* display (6/13)

A feature which surfaced twice in the writing but was not found regularly in speech was the omission of *and* in a serialization. In mainstream English, a conjunction is required before the last item in a list, for example, *Bill John, Frank and Sam went home*. The omission of this *and* was found in Laguna's writing and at San Juan as well. The deletion of this point of grammar at San Juan may be linked as much to the acquisition of writing skills as to oral language interference. Particularly the first example below suggests that the writer was aware of the need for a conjunction, but misplaced it.

(38) We went into where the rabbits and chickens, geese, turkeys (were kept) (3/9)

They dance the Butterfly, Bow and Arrow, Spring, Buffalo (7/9)

All of the forms we have mentioned thus far were also found at Laguna. Just as the Laguna sample contained a number of features which were not evident at San Juan, the following features were unique to the San Juan sample. Verb regularization is one form of a larger process involving the treatment of irregular verbs. In general, SJE treats the past tense forms of irregular verbs in a mainstream fashion. One exception is the occasional regularization of these verbs which involves the use of the suffix -*ed* to form past tense in place of the standard irregular form. An example would be *selled* for *sold*. Regularizations at San Juan were most frequent among 10-12 year olds, which suggests that developmental factors may be involved. In the written samples one regularization occurred:

(39) They *throwed* some things up but I....(10/14)

Sixty-nine irregular verbs were counted in the San Juan sample, yielding a 1.4 percent rate of realization for this feature. No percentage was calculated for oral language, but given only 13 tokens of regularization among 28 speakers, the frequency is certainly very small. Furthermore, 11 of those 13 tokens appeared in 10-12 year old speakers (cf. Section 3.2.3).

The second feature which appeared in San Juan's writing sample but not at Laguna was pleonastic tense marking. Redundant marking of tense occurs when a sentence marks tense on both the auxiliary and the verb form. Normally such a sentence would only be marked on the auxiliary, but speakers who possess this feature realize the tense in both places. We earlier characterized pleonastic tense marking at San Juan as a by-product of language acquisition which has fossilized in the variety (Section 3.2.2). However, only one speaker under twenty-five used pleonastic forms, alternately with unmarked forms and standard forms. In writing, one example occurred. This is generally consistent with our suggestions that while the influence of learning English as a second language is fading, evidence can still be found in the now native English of school-age children.

(40) I didn't felt like getting up (10/16)

Pleonastic forms with a do auxiliary were the most frequent type in speech.

The most significant difference between the data bases from Laguna and San Juan was in the extent of definable phonological influence. At Laguna seven separate phonological variations from mainstream English were identified as influences on miscues found in the written samples. At San Juan only one feature of the same type could be identified. Below is a partial list of the phonological features found in the Laguna writing samples, with an indication as to whether each feature is a part of SJE and whether it surfaced in writing.

Feature	Laguna		San Juan	
	Speech	Writing	Speech	Writing
Predominance of syllable final n in unstressed syllables [ra^{y}dIn] 'riding'	yes	yes	no	no
Syllable initial stop [tInk] 'think'	yes	yes	yes	no
Reduction of syllable final l [sku:] 'school'	yes	yes	yes	no
ə/a neutralization	yes	yes	yes	no
ɛ/æ neutralization	yes	yes	yes	yes
i/I neutralization	yes	yes	yes	no
hw retention [hwənt] 'want'	yes	yes	yes	no

Table 5.5 Comparison of Seven Phonological Features in San Juan and Laguna

Because of the difference in sample size, it is difficult to interpret how significant the above table might be. If, in fact, it is a true reflection of the influence of the phonological system on spelling, it certainly suggests that Laguna reveals more influence than San Juan. We must, however, remember here that the environment in which the Laguna samples were collected was much less controlled than the San Juan samples. In a more controlled context, we would predict that students would experiment less with words whose spellings were unfamiliar, thus relying less on oral intuitions in spelling. Less reliance on oral intuitions would be expected to result in less phonologically related variation.

The ɛ/æ neutralization was the only single phoneme variation which surfaced at San Juan. It occurred in two of the ten essays, with a total of four tokens.

(41) Ther were lots of men and women saling Indian rings...(9/5)
Than we started watching....(10/12)
Than we cam back...(10/11)
and than me and Gail quit (10/5)

In all of these examples, the spelling is logical, if the distinction between ɛ and æ is neutralized. Since æ is represented orthographically as a these spellings result.

One form deserves comment because it did not appear in the San Juan writing samples. The predominance of syllable final n rather than ŋ at Laguna resulted in a number of clear written miscues. On a number of occasions -ing inflections were represented as -en, usually in words not often written, but more often spoken, such as stinken. At San Juan this did not occur. In spoken San Juan English, there is a much greater tendency to retain the ŋ phoneme. Similarly, in writing the students neither reduced ŋ to n, (reflected in spelling by the dropping of the final -g), nor did they delete any -ing forms altogether, as was done at Laguna.

The remaining phonological evidence from San Juan was slight. Consonant cluster reduction was the only strictly phonological feature which appeared at San Juan. The example was in fact, identical to a form realized by a Laguna writer.

(42) When it was almose over...(10/10)

It has been suggested that the reduction of consonant clusters in writing is very rare. This has proven true in our investigations, especially when contrasted to the widespread reduction of such clusters in speech. The author of this example represented the reduced cluster by attaching an e in place of the -t which was phonologically eliminated. This offers some evidence as to why cluster reduction is so rare in writing. Even though it may be pronounced [ɔlmows], it does not look like English to write almos, whereas almose ends in a manner much more acceptable to English orthography. As in other instances, the student has shown in understanding of how English orthography operates, even though spoken language influence may have led to a 'misspelling'.

Overall, the writing samples from San Juan are not greatly unlike those from Laguna. Non-spoken language related errors composed a similar proportion of problems in both populations, and a number of the same spoken language structures were realized in the writing. In the next section, we will describe the writing samples from the mainstream-speaking control students. The types of forms which surface in their writing will suggest which of the San Juan and Laguna features may be related to language acquisition or the general writing process, rather than to spoken language influence related to linguistic diversity.

5.2.4 Control Group Inventory

The control group writing samples provide us with a comparative perspective from which to view the written variations from mainstream English produced by the Laguna and San Juan students. These writers are the same students from whom the oral reading samples were gathered. All the schools in the sample were located in a suburban area of Washington, D.C., and the subjects are all mainstream English speakers of socioeconomically middle class backgrounds with no known intellectual or physical disabilities.

A total of 21 writing samples were gathered for this group, placing it in between the number obtained from San Juan and those essays gathered at Laguna. The collection of the essays from the control group was methodologically similar to the procedure followed at San Juan. In other words, they were done in the context of a conventional classroom activity. This should be borne in mind when considering the features in the inventory, particularly in comparison to those from Laguna.

It is important to consider some of the interpretations which a control sample will allow us to make with respect to the features in the Indian student samples. Variation exists even within mainstream English and certain divergent forms may surface in the samples, and there may be evidence of regional variation for some control group speakers. Influences from either of these sources cannot be excluded if we are to make an accurate comparison of this sample with those from the Indian communities. The central purpose of this comparison is to allow us to assess the possible source or sources of many of the features in the writing samples from San Juan and Laguna. On this basis, we should be able to suggest which features stem directly from native language influences, which features may be the result of the growing inventory of non-mainstream features in school-aged Indian speakers which are not native Indian-language based, and the number of forms which may be the result of general writing skills acquisition.

A comparison of the inventories of features for the three groups should contain patterns which can be interpreted to yield this information. For instance, if a feature is found in the Pueblo samples, but not in the control sample, this might suggest that the feature is based in an Indian language form. Alternatively, such a form could be an artifact of L_2 learning by the parent generations. The key to interpretation in these cases will be the frequency and environments in which the feature is found in the inventories of oral language. If a feature is found in both the Pueblo writing samples and the control samples, the source is most likely acquisitional. The acquisition of writing skills commonly results in grammatical and other types of errors which are natural consequences of learning to write. Acquisitional influences will play a part in the formation of these features in the Pueblos as well, since they are related to the general nature of the writing process as a different medium of communication. A complication may arise, however, if an acquisitional influence feature is also found among the oral language features in the community. This convergence of influences occurs numerous times at San Juan and Laguna, where forms which are now used community-wide have their origins in L_2 acquisition by previous generations. In contrast, the control group's oral language is by and large mainstream. Those forms which appear in their writing seem almost exclusively due to acquisitional phenomena.

The control group inventory does vary in some significant ways from both Indian communities inventories. The first noticeable difference is in the number of spelling and mechancial erros compared with the number of oral language related forms. At Laguna and San Juan those forms which showed oral language influence composed 43.8 and 47.9 percent of the total inventory, respectively. This means that for both communities over half of their divergence from written mainstream English was traceable to some aspect of their oral language. For the control writers, however, spelling and mechanical errors composed 71.7 percent of the inventory. While this could suggest a number of possibilities, clearly, the control students have less oral language surfacing in their writing samples. Since they are speakers of a variety much closer to conventional written forms, it is to be expected that less influence would be evident. Strictly spelling errors accounted for 61.4 percent of the control sample variations.

The absence of inflectional suffixes, a characteristic discussed earlier, was found in much reduced quantities in the control samples. Without the oral language support for this absence as is found in the Pueblos, the suffix deletion which we found apparently results from the writing process itself. Nine other forms of an essentially grammatical nature were found in the control corpus, in addition to one phonologically-based feature. None of the ten features appeared more than three times, and five of them appeared only once.

Copula deletion was realized in the essays from the control group, as well as from Laguna. Three deleted copula forms appeared in the 21 control samples, although they were contained in only two essays. Comparatively, five Laguna writers produced copula deletion in 66 essays. All of the deletions at both sites were on contractable (as opposed to full form) copula forms and were certainly influenced by writing acquisition. An example of control group deleted copula is:

(43) Because it___hard for you (8/14)

Two other forms clearly stemming from writing skills acquisition or the late stages of general language acquisition were serial and deletion and the regularization of irregular verbs. Serial and deletion appeared in all three samples, although it is not a known speech characteristic of any of these communities. The placement of and in serial listings has not yet been mastered by all the students in any of these groups. Regularized verb forms occurred at San Juan as well as in the control sample. Most of the irregular verb regularizations in San Juan were produced by 10-12 year old speakers. In both communities these forms seem to have arisen from attempts to master some of the various irregular verb patterns which are not a crucial aspect of language acquisition. Two examples from the control samples were:

(44) ...the people speaked Greek...(1/4)
...at the end when Darth Vator was losed in space. (9/7)

The remaining grammatically-based forms in the control sample are common in non-standard speech and can be found in many varieties of English. Pronoun apposition, or left dislocation, appeared once in the sample:

(45) My sister Cherie, she goes to ....(13/7)

This is a very frequent form at Laguna and is probably a speech characteristic of some control group speakers. Auxiliary deletion occurred twice among control writers, both instances omitting have:

(46) ...you____got to do it (16/5)

It occurs at Laguna as well, where auxiliary deletion is occasionally realized in oral language. It is also possible that this is a speech feature for the control group writers, since it is quite common in many varieties of English. The single example of different subject-verb concord in the control group involved a case somewhat different from that found in the San Juan and Laguna samples.

(47) The kids worries me the most (17/4)

Although cases of this type are occasionally found in some non-mainstream varieties of English, we do not have any instances of this type in our Pueblo examples. On the basis of this one example in the control group, it is difficult to conclude anything about the source of concord variance in writing other than the fact that most cases seem related to the spoken language concord system. Two tense marking phenomena surfaced involving modals but it is difficult to interpret whether these are, in fact, instances of unmarked tense. For example, consider our examples in (48):

(48) The principal sent him to a school that can control him. (2/7)

Given the possible uses of modals with respect to tense reference, such an example is not a clear-cut case of unmarked tense.

Evidence of phonological influence was slight in the control sample. One student authored three miscues which were suggestive of a vowel arrangement in Southern White English. These involved the neutralization of the

I/æ distinction, in ŋ environments. Two examples were:

(49) ...take other thangs to...(13/2)
I thank I will have...(13/8)

Other words involving this distinction in the same essay, but not in an ŋ environment, were spelled correctly. This suggests that this student may have an oral language pattern with slightly different influences from his peers. The student in question only produced three ŋ environments and represented the preceding vowel as æ, rather than I in all three cases. With this knowledge, further investigation might confirm or refute the possibility of oral language influence.

5.2.5 Conclusion

Given the inventories of written language variation we presented previously, we can make some general observations about the influences which affected the written language of the three groups. As noted earlier, the control students' errors not related to spoken language composed 71.6 percent, the San Juan sample 47.9 percent, and the Laguna sample 43.8 percent of all tabulated miscues and errors. The difference between the two Indian communities and the control group certainly seems significant, and it is probably due to the fact that their spoken language is more at variance with the written language code than the control group's.

It is difficult to determine if the difference between Laguna and San Juan is significant, particularly given the difference in conditions under which the writing samples were collected. Overall, the spoken English of San Juan is probably more non-mainstream than Laguna, yet this is not reflected in the writing. We would, however, suspect that less control over the situation in which the essays were written in San Juan would result in a higher incidence of spoken language related variation.

The use of phonics as a pedagogical tool for spelling would appear to enhance the amount of phonological influence in writing. When students choose to employ a word whose spelling is unfamiliar, they use their knowledge of English orthographic representation to interpret the correct spelling. When the oral pronunciation varies from mainstream pronunciation, and when the students' knowledge of how letters "sound" is accurate, forms like those which we found in the San Juan and Laguna samples will result. Since we are suggesting that phonics training will increase the amount of oral language influence in spelling at San Juan and Laguna, it might seem to follow that spelling errors should be less frequent in control writers. This seems to make sense because their oral language is closer to English spelling conventions, hence their phonic interpretations will be more accurate and they will "sound out" the correct spelling more frequently. Our evidence, however, does not confirm this hypothesis. Two statistics suggest that while control group writers have fewer variety-related errors, their average number of spelling errors per sample is higher than for Laguna. San Juan had the highest rate, following closely behind the control students. The table below illustrates the relationship between the three groups, in terms of spelling errors per essay and mean number of total variations (errors plus miscues) per essay.

	No. of Samples	Total Variations	% Spelling/ Mechanical	% Oral Language	Spelling errors per essay	Total variations per essay
Laguna	66	258	43.8	56.2	1.2	3.9
San Juan	10	75	47.9	51.2	2.9	7.5
Control	21	88	71.6	28.4	2.6	4.2

Table 5.6 Number of Spelling Errors per Sample in San Juan Laguna and Control Essays

Table 5.6 gives us the opportunity to separate spelling related variations from those influenced by oral language. The amount of oral language influence in writing may be affected by a number of environmental factors, but spelling strategies should remain fairly consistant, regardless of the formality of the task. If anything, students would more likely pay greater attention to spelling in a more formal situation. The column marked total variations per essay includes all the divergences from standard writing which were found in the essays. San Juan had one and one half times that of the control group, while Laguna had the least of all three, although the difference was slight between Laguna and the control writers. A more significant difference arises when the orally influenced variations are removed from the data, which leads us to believe that the comparatively close scores of Laguna and the control students are actually derived from different sources. While the majority of variations at Laguna bore the mark of specific oral language patterns, those of the control group proved to be largely spelling errors.

It appears, then, that oral language is one factor which can bear upon the writing skills at the elementary level. The San Juan students exhibit a high rate of errors not related to spoken language, in addition to an almost equal number that are. The Laguna writers proved to be the best spellers, but also showed slightly more oral language influence than the other two groups. The control group's essays bear relatively little evidence of their oral language, which is essentially mainstream English, but do exhibit a higher rate of non-dialect related spelling variation than Laguna. The amount of oral language in the Indian samples may result from a number of influences, among them that the Pueblo students are less aware of the stylistic differences between oral and written speech. Hence they may be more likely to apply oral language styles to writing. Phonological influences in the Indian essays seem to arise from the pronunciation patterns at San Juan and Laguna through the students' accurate interpretations of their own oral language.

Having described these written language features we can turn to hypothesizing about their potential sources. Some of the features are the result of native language influence which has stabilized, to some extent, in the English language patterns of the Indian youngsters. Other features appear to be remnants of second language acquisitional strategies which grandparents and parents have imparted to their children. The effect of having a parent generation which learned English as a second language should fade after subsequent generations learn only English. In many cases more generalized, non-mainstream forms will replace those which bear the influence of Tewa and Keres, or of second language acquisition. These more widespread forms represent a diffusion from the language community of other varieties of English. As the members of the Pueblos continue to expand their economic and social spheres, the influence of other varieties of English will certainly increase. As more generalized patterns of English replace the source-specific forms which currently exist at San Juan and Laguna, the origin of these varieties will become increasingly obscured. Signs exist that this is already taking place. We discussed this phenomenon numerous times in relation to a number of forms which are slowly becoming mainstreamed. Some evidence which we can present from writing supports these observations.

Table 5.7 lists each of the features found in the writing samples in which oral language influence could be seen, and the communities in which

Feature	Control Group	San Juan	Laguna
Spelling	yes	yes	yes
Mechanical Error	yes	yes	yes
-ed absence	yes	yes	yes
Plural -s absence	yes	yes	yes
Verbal -s absence	no	no	yes
Possesive -s absence	no	no	yes
-ing absence	yes	no	yes
Copula deletion	yes	no	yes
Auxiliary deletion	yes	no	yes
Article absence	no	yes	yes
Relative pronoun absence	no	no	yes
Personal pronoun absence	no	no	yes
Pronominal apposition	yes	no	yes
Noun reclassification	no	no	yes
Subject-verb concord	yes	yes	yes
Unmarked modal tense	no	yes	yes
Pleonastic tense	no	no	yes
Multiple negation	no	yes	yes
Regularized forms	yes	yes	no
Preterit for participle	yes	no	yes
Nonstandard preposition	yes	no	yes
Serial and deletion	yes	yes	yes
To absence	no	yes	yes
-ly absence	no	yes	yes
Comparative neutralization	no	no	yes
Pleonastic comparatives	no	no	yes
a/an neutralization	no	yes	yes
Introductory that	no	no	yes
me and _____	no	yes	no
others	no	no	yes
Demonstrative articles	no	no	yes
Associative pronouns	no	no	yes
Consonant cluster reduction	no	yes	yes
ŋ/n	no	no	yes
θ/ -	no	no	yes
l/-	no	no	yes
ə/a	no	no	yes
ɛ/æ	no	no	yes
i/I	no	no	yes
I/æ	yes	no	no
hw retention	no	no	yes
Devoiced nasals	no	no	yes

Table 5.7 Variations from Standard Written English and their Presence or Absence in Writing Samples from San Juan, Laguna and the Control Group.

it appeared. Some features appeared only once; others were realized numerous times. The descriptive section of this text supplies that information. We have not indicated presence/absence of the feature in speech, because it is frequently too complex a situation to reduce to a yes/no description.

Certain generalizations can be made based upon where a feature has appeared. Forms which have surfaced in both of the Indian communities and in the control group samples most likely result from writing skills acquisition or from processes inherent in the writing process. Some of these features may be widespread, non-mainstream structures which have diffused into Indian English and which may be indigenous in the speech of some of the control group writers. It is difficult to identify which specific features are attributable to the sources just mentioned. Writing acquisition patterns and writing specific errors have not been thoroughly investigated. In many cases these probably converge with the generalized non-mainstream features. A longitudinal study would help determine which of these writing characteristics disappear as the writers gain proficiency. Among the features which appeared in all three samples were: -ed and plural s absence, and serial and absence. The inflectional deletions apparently are related to writing itself, according to Whiteman's evidence. Serial and absence is the most clearly acquisitionally related feature contained in all three samples. The frequency of realization for these features varies, with features appearing more frequently at Laguna and San Juan. This is probably due to the convergence of influences affecting their writing samples.

Features which appear only in the Indian communities' inventories are most likely to have direct influences from native language patterns, or at least, preferred community English usage patterns. We have already discussed the source of such structures at numerous points throughout this study. Given the differences between the older and younger Puebloan generations today, subsequent generations may retain only a vestigial influence of the ancestral language in favor of influences from other varieties of non-mainstream English. Some of the forms which were shared only by the Pueblo students were: article absence, unmarked modal tense marking, multiple negation, to absence, a/an neutralization, and consonant cluster reduction. Except for to absence, all of these forms are found in the speech of both communities.

On some occasions a form appeared in only one of the three communities. Generally such a feature would appear only at San Juan or Laguna, although I/æ neutralization appeared only in the control essays. The vast majority of these community-specific forms were realized at Laguna. Twenty variations appeared exclusively in the Laguna essays, covering a wide range of grammatical and phonological forms. Several of these forms appear to be oral language influenced, such as noun reclassification, pleonastic tense marking, and two nonstandard uses of comparatives. In addition, eight phonological variations appeared only in Laguna's samples, all of them with correlates in speech. A number of other of those Laguna-specific features are probably influenced by acquisitional factors or perhaps accidental errors, in addition to their presence in Laguna English. These would include personal and relative pronoun absence and verbal and plural -s absence. San Juan students realized only one feature which was unique to their essays, the nonstandard employment of personal pronouns, as in Gail and me. This enjoys such widespread use even in mainstream speech that it is difficult to view its source as unique to San Juan English. The control group-specific form we mentioned (I/æ neutralization) is identical to a common pronunciation pattern in Southern White English and its consistent use by one author suggests that as its source.

Most difficult to interpret are those features which appeared in one of the Pueblo samples and in the control sample. Generally, these have to be considered to be widespread non-mainstream features, and the fact that they are found in Indian English at one of the two Pueblo communities is an indication that these common nonstandard forms are, in fact, diffusing into Indian English. Six forms appeared in both Laguna and control essays, and one other at San Juan and in the Control Group. The difficulty with these forms arises because many of them appear to have potentially different sources which converge resulting in their common usage. Copula deletion, for example, occurs in Laguna English, in the writing samples, and in the writing of the control group. While the control group's usage of this feature must be considered acquisitional in derivation, we cannot rule out the possibility that some Laguna students delete the copula for other reasons as well. It is interesting to note that no phonological features were held in common by Indian writers and control group authors. Since phonological features are not subject to the same acquisitional phenomena in writing as are grammatical features, and since the phonologies of the Pueblos and the control students are quite different, this was predictable.

Our investigation of written composition in the two Indian communities and a control middle-class Anglo community has indicated that a number of the variations in written form involve more than accidental errors or straightforward gaps in knowledge. It is quite clear that there is a systematic variation which is most reasonably interpreted as a reflection of spoken language in writing. This source operates along with general writing acquisitional strategies to account for a significant percentage of the writing variation in these communities. Although it is sometimes difficult to isolate sources of variation in a non-ambiguous way, it is quite apparent that spoken language difference is one of those sources which must be considered.

Given the fact that spoken language influence and other sources of variation result in compositions which do not meet prescriptive norms of acceptable writing, it might be argued that the source of a particular writing problem is not relevant; the only essential consideration is that variation exists which is in need of correction. While we do not dispute the need for standard writing skills, we oppose the notion that a "writing error is a writing error". It seems that the first step in the effective teaching of writing skills is a diagnostic one: deciding where a particular problem may come from. Different writing problems tap different capacities on the part of the aspiring writer, and there are differences in the patterned nature of writing variations. Furthermore, different patterns of variation appear to call for different strategies in teaching. An educator who can identify and classify the different types of problems encountered by a writer is certainly in an advantageous position to systematically approach the problem over one who cannot identify the nature of a writing variation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] The reference numbers used to identify citations from the reading passages can be interpreted as follows: (200, 1:1/7)--200 refers to the tape number; 1 to the first reader on that tape; 1/7 to the page (1) and the line (7) of that subject's transcript, from which the example was taken.

[2] The reference numbers used to identify citations from the writing passages can be interpreted as follows: (34/7)--34 refers to the writer/sample number, 7 refers to the line within that sample. This is to be distinguished from references to the speech samples, which are indexed as (51:10), indicating speaker number and page of the transcript on which the example is found.

CHAPTER SIX

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH IN THE PUEBLOS: EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

This study has thus far examined two major topics: 1) aspects of linguistic variation within the English varieties of San Juan and Laguna Pueblos and 2) some of the correlations and parallels of the spoken varieties as they relate to the reading and writing skills of elementary school students in these communities. At base, the purposes motivating each of these lines of inquiry were descriptive. Much is often assumed about the ways in which a person's verbal fluency affects that person's efforts to extend his linguistic competence into newer domains such as the learning of a second language or second dialect of the native language, the development of literacy skills, cultivation of creative writing abilities, or other language-related activities. Until recently, little effort was made to test some of these assumptions with accurate descriptions of the ways speakers actually extend their competencies into these domains. Most of the systematic analyses of other non-mainstream varieties are less than twenty years old; studies of American Indian English have been conducted only in the last five years.

It is not surprising that strategies designed to address the problems of the "limited English speaking" students in America's schools have been based on considerations other than the empirical. Educational policy making at the federal and state levels reflects the influence of such perceptions, particularly in the assumption that income-level or other socioeconomic factors automatically play a significant role in creating and maintaining nonstandard verbal fluencies. Even some linguistic accounts which highlight the systematic nature of such varieties may lapse into a perspective which is limited to a comparison of the variety with the standard one, ignoring the operation of the system in its own right. Given the technical linguistic definition of terms such as "deletion", "reduction", and so forth, it may then be possible for unwarranted inferences to be made concerning the structure of the non-mainstream variety in relation to a mainstream one. To some readers, such descriptions may appear to argue that non-mainstream English has "its own grammar" only to the extent that it departs from standard English conventions. Accurate labels which avoid such a reading are sometimes elusive, yet descriptive and comparative analyses are basic to an understanding of student related English needs.

The perspective on language description and variability can have significant impact on our understanding of the English codes characteristic of American Indian speech communities. Educators in these communities have often raised questions about their students' English--foreseeing difficulty which could arise across various dimensions of educational and social interaction--but it was not until the early 1970's that some descriptive-based responses began to be provided. What had been offered previously were vague over-extended generalities about presumed regional similarities (cf. Cook 1973, for example) and the historical bases for them (e.g. Leechman and Hall's 1955 pidgin/creole presumption). While such proclamations were interesting hypotheses in themselves, they ignored the language, home community, and tribally-distinctive bases of the seemingly divergent constructions.

This report presents sufficient data to show that the varieties of English found at San Juan and Laguna pueblos may be equally as divergent from standard English conventions as any other forms of American English vernacular described, but in somewhat different directions. This situation can be traced to the inter-relationship between ancestral language features; generalized features from non-mainstream American English codes; features diffused from other Indian English varieties and/or from the Hispanic and other "ethnic" varieties of English spoken in surrounding towns; and features arising from the effects of acquisitional/developmental sequencing-all of which continue to characterize the structure of each Indian English code. Such mosaic-like grammatical qualities are hardly paralleled within some of the other English traditions in America.

Why students of the historical aspects of Indian English made no move to relate their chronologies to the variability found in each of the contemporary Indian English codes is not clear. The same question can be asked of the earlier workers in the field of English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) who advocated focusing the greatest amount of remedial attention on those areas where the grammar of the students' home language and the grammar of English show greatest discrepancy and greatest potential for interference (i.e. predicted interference). Why did educators not establish their instructional targets by determining areas of interference actually attested in their students' English speech? Why be confined to prediction of the way in which the students may (or may not) reconcile their existing linguistic competence with the competence skills now required by English when the success of their grammatical synthesis can be directly observed and analyzed?

Answers to these questions may be found, in part, in the approach to English teaching for non-native speakers prevalent at that time. Contrastive analysis urged the instructor to view ESL students as "receivers", not as "sources," of English data. Descriptions of the structure of any variety of Indian English seemed irrelevant. Yet the absence of such data seriously crippled the efforts of concerned educators seeking to develop more effective techniques for establishing English fluency within the nation's Indian population. Ohannessian summarized the concern most precisely when she wrote, on behalf of a BIA-sponsored study group looking at "the problems in teaching English to American Indians":

> Where English is the native language of Indian students, variation from the regional standard or non-standard dialects poses problems for the teaching of English. There are no descriptions of varieties of English spoken by Indians. Some of the problems of Indians in isolated communities lie in their apparent inability to use more than a limited number of levels and styles of English. It would be important for English teaching to know what gaps there are between the English of urban and rural Indian children and what gaps there are between their oral and written levels of proficiency in English. The impression of the Study Group is that being monolingual in English, apparently a goal that some educators have set for Indians in the past, has not always solved the educational problems of Indian students.
>
> Many more Indian children are said to start school knowing some English at present than did a decade ago. Interference from the students' native languages is the most prevalent and obvious problem, but interference from non-native English learned from parents by first generation monolinguals in the language, lack of vocabulary and experiential background, and the often highly artificial usage of English in the classroom may be regarded as additional problems. (Ohannessian 1967:11)

The impact of what Ohannessian referred to as "problems" still affects the classroom performance of many American Indian students. There is little information on measuring children's "level of language proficiency". We do know, thanks to a survey carried out by the National Indian Training and Research Center in 1975, that 57,709 of the Indian students then enrolled in federally operated schools, federally funded contract schools, and public schools receiving Johnson-O'Malley funds were categorized as having "limited English speaking ability" -- meaning, in this case, that the students came from homes where the Indian (or Native) language is the dominant language spoken. NITRC also found that only 26% of that number were reported to be receiving educational services appropriate to the language situation. If services to students whose language needs are supposedly clear are so restricted one can only speculate about the limits on services to students already judged to be fluent in English, thus judged not to be limited English-speaking and not requiring "special" language arts services--students such as the ones whose English has been considered in this report.

It should be noted that we did not select San Juan and Laguna Pueblos' day schools as research sites because of the presumed "English language problems" within the schools' student populations. It seemed more appropriate to seek research contexts where a variety of levels of mastery over standard English would be attested, as was indicated in these communities. Language arts policies for Indian students must acknowledge and address the facts of English diversity within the instructional strategies they recommend, if those policies are to have effective impact on the quality of education in Indian schools. And such language arts policies cannot be constructed in a vacuum. First, the parameters of diversity within student and home community English codes must be determined. Then from those data, generalizations about the factors giving rise to the variability must be identified. Policy recommendations and suggested instructional procedures may then be advanced, provided that each suggestion is clearly relatable to identified, and not presumed, strengths and weaknesses within the students' repertoire of English skills.

Field work at San Juan and Laguna pueblos allowed opportunities to study English diversity in a direct and open fashion. The correlation between that diversity and student mastery over reading techniques and writing skills has been explored. It remains to consider the educational implications of those findings. Discussion of educational issues is presented in the following sections both to suggest how such implications can be developed as well as the content which such recommendations might include.

6.1 The Parameters of Diversity

One of the more significant aspects of our study of English at San Juan and Laguna Pueblos is the documentation of variability within the two communities' English codes. There is more than ample basis for predicting that such non-uniformity would occur, given the mosaic-like combination of influences which characterizes these codes. Until the time of the present study, however, no attempt had been made to determine how far the underlying mosaic might go in conditioning variation within a given speech community -- or, in fact, what additional insights into the nature of the grammar could be obtained from a profile of that diversity. Language arts instruction must also be carried out within the context of skills development governed by those parameters. Such instruction, in order to be effective, must complement and not conflict with linguistic, social, and cultural factors which have given rise to the current English grammar. A review of the nature of English diversity at San Juan and Laguna Pueblos points to educational, as well as descriptive implications.

We have noted in Chapter Three that a distinction must be made between those linguistic features which might show "generationally-based" differences and those which show "age-grading" differences. Features with generationally-based variation reflect group level organization at a given point in time, whereas age-grading reflects the movement of individuals through a larger, group-general structure. Both types of phenomena are important for our present purposes, since they help identify the general social framework within which the patterning of linguistic data takes place. It is the patterning of this data within the speech community, not simply the correlation of specific social and linguistic variables, which must help establish realistic goals for programs of language instruction for these communities. A brief comparison of the occurrence of negative concord constructions and unmarked tense within the English of these two communities can illustrate the dynamics involved. As we already pointed out in Chapter Four, both San Juan and Laguna English can realize negative concord involving verbs and indefinites (e.g. He didn't go nowhere, Nobody didn't do it). That such constructions are a part of each community's verbal repertoire cannot be disputed. However, a more precise perspective on negative

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concord is derived by looking at its distribution among speakers within the community. In both San Juan and Laguna, the younger speakers tend to cluster at higher levels of usage than their older counterparts. Such is the case, even though older community members might be expected to show a greater incidence of the nonstandard pattern due to their non-limited fluency in English. In this case, however, negative marking in the ancestral language (limited to the verbal element) seems to support the standard English pattern vis-a-vis the nonstandard one. The younger speakers, on the other hand, are exposed to the influences of other non-mainstream varieties which use the form (e.g. Hispanic English) and no ancestral language influence disfavoring it. This is an intriguing situation because, in this case, speakers with the greatest ancestral language influence are actually closer to the standard English norms than are those with minimal influence from this source.

Of course, the ancestral language grammar is not always going to serve as a source of reinforcement for the use of the standard English surface structures. Thus, we saw in Chapters Three and Four that "unmarked tense", which had a clear-cut structural parallel in the ancestral languages, was heavily favored by older speakers--speakers with the highest familiarity with the ancestral language. The vestiges of usage still found among some younger speakers might be an indirect reflection of this pattern, but the immediacy of the ancestral system clearly fosters greater divergence.

When several factors are considered, including the conditions under which English was learned by the older generation and prescriptive norms within the ancestral language tradition, it actually turns out that the English of older speakers may be closer to certain prescribed norms of standard English while diverging from mainstream varieties in other directions. The pattern may be reversed for some younger speakers, who actually realize more of the traditionally considered nonstandard forms of English. Thus, the state of bilingualism, for one reason or another, may actually result in some forms closer to standard English, when English is used. It can hardly be argued that bilingualism effects more nonstandard English forms; if anything, the opposite effect is indicated. The specifics of the language arts program to this end will be outlined in a subsequent section. Quite obviously, we cannot assume that all people within the community speak English identically, and the ways in which they differ will give us important insights into the dynamics of English usage as an educational issue.

6.2 Multiple Causality and the Diagnostic Problem

Throughout this study, we have referred to the fact that the surface level details in San Juan and Laguna English must be explained in terms of a synthetic integration. That is, there are a number of different reasons why a particular linguistic form may be realized. There are basically two different types of parameters which must be appealed to in sorting out the different causes. One may be referred to as the "source issue, and the other the "process" issue. The source issue refers to the various sources which historically or currently contribute to the divergence of San Juan and Laguna English. Both of these have been discussed in detail at various points in our analysis in Chapters Three and Four, but it may be helpful to review them here. At various times, we have turned to the ancestral language tradition, the generalized dynamics of learning English, and various types of diffusional patterns from other vernacular language situations, including Hispanic English, non-mainstream Anglo varieties, and other Indian English varieties. Various linguistic structures have demonstrated the prominence of particular sources, but we have also seen these different sources complement each other in affecting a particular structure. Thus, we have seen that unmarked tense might demonstrate the effects of several different sources, or that negative concord may involve a slightly different set of source influences.

In addition to the types of sources regularly treated in the descriptive chapters, we have occasionally referred to the possibility of developmental factors still exerting some influence for those speakers at the lower age limits of the sample. The notion of "language development" when used in this kind of discussion can become dangerously misleading since it may seem to imply that some children are "more advanced" and other children "less developed". As used here, however, we are concerned with observationally-based evidence-specific claims which are not intended to be evaluative. Recent investigations of the process of acquisition have actually revised the completion point of language development upward. For example, we know that certain types of passives and relatives may not be acquired until the ages of eight and nine, and that there are vestiges of other structures which may extend beyond that period. Thus, the vestige of irregular verb "regularization" (e.g. sended for sent, catched for caught) or the complete mastery of "long" past forms (i.e./Id/forms such as decided, intended, etc.) may not level off until a later stage than previously thought. For some of our younger speakers, particularly those in the 10-12 year-old range, such vestiges must be included along with other source influences. Thus, the potential number of sources may turn out to be even greater than we anticipated. Every indication attests to multiple causality in accounting for the emergent grammar of San Juan and Laguna English.

The other dimension of causality relates to the type of linguistic process involved in accounting for a particular form. At various points, we have seen grammatical, phonological, and semantic processes which must be appealed to in understanding why a particular form may occur. And, these do not necessarily operate in isolation. Thus, in our discussion of unmarked tense, we saw that the convergence of grammatical, semantic, and phonological bases had to be considered in coming to an accurate explanation of the surface forms. Furthermore, the synthesis of processes might differ within the population based on the age and source for the surface forms. Older speakers clearly used unmarked tense as a grammatical reflex of a semantic distinction reinforced by the ancestral language source, although it did converge with a phonological explanation which affected certain forms. On the other hand, the phonological explanation was primary for some younger speakers, although the vestige of the semantic distinction might still be reflected, suggesting that the phonological process may not be an exclusive explanation.

We could certainly recount a number of other structures which illustrate this type of convergence, but the point would be the same. Several levels of processes are clearly evidenced. An analysis which arbitrarily identifies one probable cause as the exclusive basis for a given phenomenon will seriously oversimplify the reality of the linguistic situation. Correspondingly, an analysis of educationally-related language use which focuses on a singular cause of diversity will seriously miss the point.

At this point, one might ask why the acknowledgment of multiple causality in linguistic diversity is important for education. Essentially, the primary contribution of linguistic analysis to education is one of diagnosis. Effective educational strategy is premised on accurate diagnosis of educational issues with respect to language, just as it is in all areas. If inaccurate and imprecise diagnosis of language-related issues serves as the guide for educational strategy and materials, we cannot expect effective teaching and learning to take place. A strategy of language-related education which recognizes a singular source of divergence (e.g. developmental phenomena) or a single level of linguistic processes (e.g. phonological) cannot hope to meet the needs of the student who is synthesizing a number of sources and levels of linguistic organization. While multiple causality may compound the educational tasks, it is a necessary premise for the construction of effective, relevant educational materials. There is no singular explanation for linguistic diversity and effective education strategy related to language skill will recognize and directly confront the different sources and levels of language processes operating here. A realistic language arts curriculum will have to address this dimension in dealing with basic skills such as reading and writing.

6.3 Cause, Construction, and Reading and Writing Skills

One of the major conclusions of this study is that language arts programs for Indian students (at least, for students from San Juan and Laguna pueblos) should be constructed around evidenced levels of student skills attainment. The evidence must be obtained by making direct assessment of the specific patterns of English fluency as attested in the students' speech and in their home community, and not by reliance on the outcomes of pre-established tests of language proficiency, checklists of pan-dialectal non-standard English features, or more informally derived procedures guiding judgments. As noted in the preceding section, inventorying levels of student skills attainment in any area of the language arts will provide only part of the information needed for effective program planning. The range of causes underlying evidenced constructions, and the relative impact of any single cause on the construction formation process also need to be clarified. Given opportunities for appropriate training, classroom personnel can make their own diagnosis of student language arts strengths and weaknesses, following some of the procedures employed for purposes of this report. Data systematically obtained through peer-group conversations, in dialogue with the teacher, and through oral reading and written compositions would be more than sufficient for such purposes. School officials and other educational authorities might do well to encourage the regular collection of such information, instead of (as is so often the case in multicultural schooling programs) dismissing the research effort as an inappropriate use of staff time. We have already seen the range of source influences that can be found in the variety of English used by students. Indeed, the particular synthesis of sources is quite impressive. While a range of source influences is operative to produce various language patterns, at no point did evidence appear which suggested that students from these two communities had inadequate control over spoken language fluency.

In one sense, reading can be considered as its own kind of language performance. The input from spoken language skills must certainly be recognized, but there are additional tasks unique to the reading activity--the identification of organizational units within the text, particular inferencing skills, eye movement, and so forth. Thus, spoken language skills combine and integrate with other skills the reading process requires. Reading cannot be considered simply as an extension of spoken language. Simplistically diagrammed, the relationship between reading and spoken language is more like Figure B than Figure A.

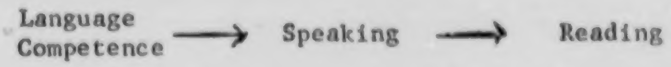

FIGURE A.

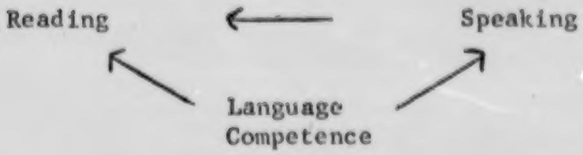

FIGURE B.

The framework represented in B more accurately depicts what we know about the reading process, and certainly allows for factors other than those which are derived from spoken language to play a major role in shaping the successfulness of the reading process. This perspective also argues that it is underlying language competence, and not just language-specific performance skills which are called into play in this process.

Evidence has been presented to show that, in comparative terms at least, more than spoken language skills need to be considered when the effectiveness of a student's reading skills are assessed. The analysis of student miscues discussed in Chapter Five showed that, of the three groups of students considered in this study, no one group of students scored consistently better or worse than the other groups. Where reading effectiveness is concerned, students from the two Indian communities and the control group shared higher and lower performances at various points on the Reading Miscue Inventory. It would thus appear that spoken English alone is not a sufficient predictor of reading success or failure.

Given the variety of non-linguistic factors which may enter into the reading process, the contribution of spoken language skills to the successfulness of the process needs more precise identification. We need to know at which points these skills may be called into play, and how they may operate. There are obviously different kinds of options. Consider, for example, the simple situation in which the written page contains the word stopped and the student reads stop. This might be a reflection of: (1) a spoken language phonological pattern with no effect on the grammatical/semantic content (2) a spoken language grammatical/semantic constraint related to unmarked tense in habitual contexts (3) a convergence of phonological and grammatical/semantic factors or (4) the presence of some other constraint. The type and effect of spoken language influence might then be quite different. Accordingly, the kind of educational strategy appropriate for dealing with this miscue might be quite different. In some cases (e.g. (1) above) no remediation might be called for, while in other cases, appropriate remediation strategies would be called for. Criteria need to be advanced which will justify a particular interpretation, so that effective educational strategies can be developed.

One finding which our study reveals is the reader's utilization of a number of skills which are related to his general language competence rather than the more superficial tasks of decoding language. Linguistic processing in reading obviously goes considerably beyond surface detail. As our discussion in Chapter Five indicated, comprehension scores parallel grammatical relationships in suggestive ways, while the scores in grammatical function co-vary with neither of these measures. The implication that can be drawn here is that student's understanding of a given passage seems to depend on their processing of syntactic relationships rather than the processing of surface grammatical categories.

Such a situation could lead to serious processing problems if it were found that the knowledge of sentence formation appropriate to one English variety led to interpretations of relationships which differed in significant ways from those intended by the author of the text. Although we have not engaged in extensive syntactic analysis of San Juan or Laguna English here, preliminary investigations by Leap have suggested important conflicts in the types of subordination relationships found in English and those in the ancestral languages. Subordination relationships in Tewa, for example, may be indicated by post-verbal suffixes on the subordinate clause, in contrast to the types of embedding relationships found in English. Attested sentences such as the following might then be seen as more than a simple linear placement difference in terms of the elements of related clauses:

They ask questions how it is prepared.

Tell whoever is in charge to watch the children how they treat this man

I heard him talking when they were saying about they didn't want the Indians in the plaza this year

They ride bikes is what I see them do

What the speaker of San Juan/Tewa or Laguna/Keres English may "know" about the formation of subordinate clauses and the rules and conventions used to form these clauses might be quite distinct from the knowledge the speaker of standard English brings to the same task. Ultimately, such syntactic processing could affect comprehension, if, indeed, the relationship between grammatical relationships and comprehension in the reading process is a valid one. The educational implication of such an observation seems apparent. Emphasis should be placed on training in the syntactic-related aspects of text processing. Reliance on phonics, word-by-word recognition techniques, or other approaches which heighten students' awareness of form but not grammatical relationship will certainly be beside the point in such instances. In line with this, we suggest that the cultural background content, author-intended inferencing relationships, and other processing tasks which go beyond the linguistic items per se are important factors in reading, as indicated by our observations concerning the present skill levels of students. The students' demonstrated ability in isolated decoding skills, such as phonics, certainly needs to be complemented with tasks specifically designed to acquire processing skills more related to the structure of the entire text. Growing concern over this issue is not unique to the context of this study, but educators in these communities should avail themselves of current developments which broaden the scope of processing abilities.

In some ways, the spoken language influence on student writing is more apparent than in reading, but there are also important areas of convergence among all the groups, where the writing samples diverge from standard conventions in similar ways. According to our tabulations, Laguna and San Juan students consistently indicated higher percentages of influence from spoken language diversity than the control group with which they were compared. That is, writing miscues related to oral language accounted for a greater proportion of their divergence than the control group, which favored the type of divergence classified as "spelling and mechanical errors". There is also a core of divergence obviously related to the writing process as a medium in its own right. We thus have categories of divergence shared by all three groups, examples unique to the San Juan and Laguna group compared with the control group, and categories unique to each of the Pueblo communities. The ultimate configuration, then, is somewhat more complex than we might suspect on first glance.

The contribution of our investigation here is again diagnostic in nature. Given the types and levels of influence on written language divergence, an appropriate first step is accurate identification. An arbitrary, mechanical error may be approached in a somewhat different fashion than one related to the general nature of language modification in the writing process. This, in turn, might be approached differently from a miscue which reflects the influence of a spoken language.

Educational strategy would certainly profit from treating these different levels of skill acquisition separately, and probably by ordering them within the systematic teaching of writing skills. As with all educational skills, students must be expected to progress step by step in the gradual acquisition of standard writing skills. Focusing on mechanical problems, spoken language influence, and generalized writing process divergence without separating and approaching each systematically may be akin to correcting mathematical errors without bothering to separate or focus on separate processes, such as addition, multiplication and so forth. Educational strategy can only benefit from an approach which diagnoses the different levels of problems and attacks each one in a systematic and orderly fashion.

Obviously, there are a range of causes and influences on the reading and writing skills of students in San Juan and Laguna, just as there are for any child learning these tasks. The issues in educational programming have greater scope than the task-specific purpose and goals might suggest. More is at stake than the simplistically stated goal of "building standard English fluency". Linguistic, social, and cultural factors all have an impact on the problems being discussed in this chapter. To provide meaningful responses to these issues, the full range of causes needs to be addressed by any language arts program the school, or the community, undertakes.

6.4 Appropriate and Inappropriate "Remedies"

The English of residents in San Juan and Laguna pueblos has obviously indicated a continuum of divergence. At one end are those who show a patterned departure from the conventions of standard English, while at the other end we have students whose English resembles standard English without necessarily being governed by all the standard English constraints. Given the particular configuration of patterns which sets apart these groups from other non-mainstream groups, the English might be classified under the general rubric, American Indian English. This does not mean to imply homogeneity within the groups, nor a uniform range of patterns used by a given speaker. But given the interplay of language history and current language dynamics, it appears that a system has emerged and is maintained which can be distinguished from other varieties. This is to be expected given the particulars of language and sociocultural history, and is no more surprising than the emergence and maintenance of any other variety of English which has molded itself around a particular settlement pattern and tradition.

The English in these communities does not always relate to the ancestral language tradition of the respective communities in ways which might simply be assumed. For example, it might be assumed that speakers learning English along with another language would use more nonstandard structures of English. But our observation is that greater familiarity with the ancestral language may actually correlate with lower usage of socially stigmatized structures in English. Whatever the cause for this configuration, and we speculated as to the historical and sociocultural reasons for this situation, the particular patterning is indeed intriguing. In fact, given the proper sociocultural and historical perspective, bilingualism might be seen as a positive reinforcement in the development of a standard English repertoire. The utility of certain standard English conventions in educational tasks such as reading and writing does not appear to be in dispute.

Of course, when we speak of bilingualism here, we are talking about a coordinated, integrated skills development program in proper cultural perspective. We are not speaking of a half-hour allotment to topics of Indian culture, which may include some beadwork, leatherwork, and possibly some language. Certainly more than isolated bits of vocabulary must be focused on in a program which hopes to derive the benefits of the ancestral language tradition for the language arts program. Within the appropriate sociocultural context for comparison, notions of standardness can be compared and contrasted in both languages and cultures. Naturally, this level of involvement with language instruction assumes that a range of persons from the community will play an active role in the language arts curriculum. Linguistic resources of parents, grandparents, community officials, religious elders, and other persons must serve as models for locally appropriate styles of language pluralism. Their usefulness for out of classroom instructional purposes is clear. Yet the personnel needed for such activities within the classroom could likewise only be drawn from the ranks of the local community. Those persons have already mastered the kind of coordinated control over English and Indian language traditions which is at issue here. They are also in the best position to appreciate the subtleties in speaking strategies which the current opportunities for communication in the home community and the surrounding context require of the local membership.

The impact of this approach to language arts instruction on the vernacular English codes used within each of these communities now needs to be considered. It must be stressed from the outset that the bilingual strategy being outlined here is not seeking to eradicate the students' fluency in San Juan or in Laguna English. Instead, the proposed program seeks to enrich the existing fluency and to expand further the existing language competency through the addition of new channels for communication and new means for expression. Any number of bilingual-related educational strategies may be appropriate for this task in the given context. Even so, the overall goal of instruction, regardless of the focus, remains the same: to assist the students in gaining the speaking skills they need for the whole range of communicative tasks open to them as Indians and as Southwestern Americans. Portions of those tasks, at least in the present circumstance, require fluency in each community's vernacular English code. The school cannot ignore this linguistic reality.

There is more than ample foundation within the students' linguistic and social competence around which the retention of vernacular English fluency can be based. The foundation will remain unaffected, even while the students' Indian language and standard English fluencies are being expanded. Such a creative use of three linguistic options--ancestral language, Indian English vernacular, and standard English--is certainly the goal addressed by the verbal repertoires of many adult-aged members of both the San Juan and the Laguna speech communities. Realities about the kinds of speaking tasks, and the range of speaker proficiency expected from members of these two speech communities are being suggested here. If Indian education programs in these sites are to provide educational services which realistically address the educational needs facing their students, language arts programs must be oriented toward the development and maintenance of language fluencies appropriate to those realities.

The different language repertoires available in the context of the community can be utilized as a great resource within a language arts curriculum. Students should use their resources as a basis for discussion and research on the dynamics of language and culture. The wealth of personal resources in the elders and community leaders must not be neglected, and students must play an active part in continuing them. Student investigation of different verbal styles for different community and non-community relations will enhance language awareness at the same time it maintains community traditions of language styles. Students themselves should record and discuss some of the language traditions in the community and use them as a basis for building up a curriculum of indigenous materials.

There is ample reason to suggest that some of the local traditions can be utilized to great advantage in overcoming some of the background problems which might exist in reliance on reading material which is so oriented towards middle-class mainstream groups. Recall here our earlier discussion of the apparent comprehension problems with one of the reading passages centered around the theme of colonizing the moon. There is no reason why the students themselves cannot contribute to the maintenance of tradition, and even become the authors of local reading materials in a way analogous to Wigginton's (1972) Foxfire materials. With this sort of student involvement in the collection of data and the active preparation of materials, the reading and writing process might take on new meaning for many students. At the same time, it may serve to preserve and maintain many of the traditions which are an important part of the community. This is not a theme in opposition to the prescribed goals of the school in terms of education, but one which can enhance the development of a fuller range of skills in a relevant community context and give students a deeper appreciation of the benefits of language arts.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Inventory of Features:

San Juan Sample

I. Grammatical Features

A. Verb Phrase

1. Tense

Shifting Tense

I don't think hardly any of the kids speak English at the time when we first started going to school. I believe most of the kids speak T^{e}wa at the time. (106:159)

When you were growing up, what are some of the things you can do and can't do? (79:57)

Perfect Forms

She has never been away from home until then. (106:159)

And then that lady was just watching me, you know, cause I haven't gotten off in a long time. (118:398)

...cause we have never done that when we were kids. (130:149)

Pleonastic Tense Marking

Why did Donald Duck stole his gun? (11:41)

Did I told you? (87:70)

And still yet, at my first year there in Indian school I didn't had a boyfriend, til my second year. (106:182)

...and I didn't gave him no peas. (87:61)

2. Verb Forms

Irregular Forms

Regularization:

So he choosed Richard. (85:1332)

A girl from Mexico babysitted. (89:224)

And then it lighted real big. (116:687)

He stinked. (119:303)

Preterit as Participle (particularly with had):

He had fell down the stairs. (133:192)

They had went. (133:177)

He had blew it. (133:192)

Participle as Preterit:

She done the same thing to her mom. (77:125)

All we seen was nothing but adobe homes (105:4)

Some things you gotta show them you done... (105:84)

Bare Root

Then she also come up one time. (80:173)

I have never ride in that train. (106:14)

(Most cases ambiguous because of tense and concord changes.)

Different Strong Form:

One I d$\overset{[\varepsilon]}{\text{re}}$med. (117:207)

Last night I d$\overset{[\varepsilon]}{\text{re}}$m about that. (144:571)

have Auxiliary Reduction

I never been in one. (81:225)

I been wanting her to come home. (104:1)

We seen a lotta good movies. (88:66)

-ing Absence

They all go around the houses trick or treat___. (81:150)

All kinds of dancers that are perform___. (81:184)

3. Idiomatic Lexical Differences

I make a garden too. (129:27)

Sometimes he takes the baby a bath. (144:211)

Turned the fire off (put it out). (116:92)

B. Concord

1. be

You like to kill the ants that's around. (122:11)

The railroad tracks isn't there anymore. (130:9)

I think their lives is kinda boring. (80:146)

2. Third Person Singular Present

He have eleven kids. (103:11)

One of them make pottery. (79:5)

My wife also do that. (127:2)

Peter don't have any. (107:5)

3. -Z on Third Person Plural

The two out here likes to play roller sticks. (107:9)

Three lives and one in Santa Clara. (129:117)

Well, the children learns how to dance from their grandpa. (129:103)

C. Adverbs

1. Time Adverbs

up to today

I never did drink up to today. (81:230)

Up to today I haven't drank. (81:231)

still yet

...but still yet, I'd jump up from the ground and hit him. (80:371)

...and still yet, at my first year there in Indian School, I didn't had a boyfriend. (106:182)

This was long time ago, when -- I believe when we were still kids yet. (106:112)

before

Have you made any potteries before? (83:30)

Now they are but before they aren't. (104:409)

It's not like before. (87:98)

They useta play before the Shinney. (87:9)

in those days

In those days, if you see an older people, older person. (106:245)

2. Repetitive Adverbs

Chet didn't want because already Marie already had a kid. (80:233)

She's already gone to the other world already. (129:61)

Either you cut that out or either I marry you off. (80:406)

She has never stepped in this house ever again. (80:297)

3. Adverbial Placement

Time and Location/Direction

We go fishing all the time to Stone Lake. (123:21)

She's Tuesday at my Aunt Marie's. (144:62)

...go with them mostly everytime to the river. (85:134)

Object Location/Time

I rode at Disneyland the submarine. (150:60)

They used to play before the Shinney. (87:9)

Post-Finite Placement

I had still some money. (116:69)

We knew already English. (88:67)

Intensifying Adverbs

...big ole goose bumps. (105:604)

I got a big ole blanket. (105:629)

...but it was a big ole trailer, you know. (116:722)

Over + Place/Direction

Where did you go over to. (123:66)

You know who Alvin likes over there. He likes Lucy. (113:90)

I don't go swimming at all over here. (118:606)

D. Negation

1. Multiple Negation

I didn't take no jacket. (46:68)

I really don't like none of those things. (76:90)

I didn't bother her no more. (80:107)

2. Negative Indefinite + Negativized Verb Phrase

Nobody doesn't have to see it. (183:391)

Nobody isn't gonna bother. (105:104)

...and nobody else isn't making me unhappy. (133:232)

3. Positive Quantifier + Negative

All the dead people weren't there no more. (117:262)

We both didn't have no money. (125:54)

4. Negative Across Clauses

...and I don't think nowadays this kids aren't getting that. (76:115)

I'm not gonna deny that she's not spoiled. (76:503)

5. Other

It's been a long time since I haven't gone to the State Fair. (77:145)
(Meaning 'I haven't been there in a long time.')

6. Ain't

Rocky ain't in here. (183:511)

Well, it ain't her fault. (116:674)

E. Questions

1. Question Order

When they're gonna take you? (78:121)

Then how you could hold on to it? (116:965)

Who's he's married to? (116:578)

2. Uninverted Order in Conjoined Clauses

If you were the teacher, how would you punish, or you would just let the kids do as they please? (118:65)

Is she gonna live here or she's gonna go? (144:290)

Did everyone in your class speak English or they spoke Indian? (104:188)

Did anybody get hurt or you didn't see? (119:224)

3. No Tag

Generalized no with Positive

They're so tall, no? (91:165)

They looked real, no? (144:712)

And some of them make you cry, no? (144:832)

...but those guys looked tired, no? (78:184)

With Negative

...some of them didn't leave, no? (142:227)

We don't get nothing, no? (106:193)

He don't come no more I guess, no? (87:190)

In Non-Tag Formations as Related to you know

But it was cold there, no, rolling that snow? (115:87)

The man got on a big tree, no, that was like that, no, ...and then all the mens fell except for two, no, ...he looks like Grizzly Adams. (123:13)

4. How/What

They used to have that, how they call that? (87:94)

I don't know how you would call that. (104:66)

Did you get to Knoxbury Farm? How was that place like? (82:96)

F. Comparatives

1. Absence of Comparative in Clause

I think we respect our, the older people_than they do right now. (75:65)

I thought the little one were much_interesting to see dance than, you know, the big kids. (76:168)

I work hard_over here than at work, than at my job. (88:17)

They have -- they have too much_freedom now than the time we were kids. (187:188)

2. Pleonastic Comparative Construction

She didn't have her mind on the worsest part. (80:170)

It's more better. (100:78)

They're more meaner. (121:122)

3. Neutralization of Comparative/Superlative

What did you get for Christmas that you like more? (115:90)

Which of the Brady Bunch kids do you like more? (108:19)

4. Other

I stay here better. (87:241)

San Juan is more hot. (106:290)

I thought that was the coldest and hard___winter that we had. (130:91)

G. Relativization

1. Pleonastic Relativization

favorite...like

What are your favorite meals that you like to cook? (77:178)

What are some of your favorite TV shows that you like to watch? (144:14)

Do you have any favorite girl that you like? (111:5)

Cognate Objects

...and if there's any kind of dances that they're gonna dance. (130:174)

Do you remember any of your dreams that you dream a lot?

Lot of Indians sell their things what they're selling. (102:152)

H. Nominals

1. Plural Absence

...one of your sister . (77:27)

...many group . (81:9)

What are some of your favorite program? (114:2)

Their throat were dry. (104:16)

2. Noun Classes

Expansion of Count Nouns

Give this couple an advice. (80:203)

...all kinds of advices. (80:40)

...made any potteries before. (77:158)

sell a pottery. (83:123)

some of the jewelries (176:911)

Ø Plural with -Z

...those sheeps. (112:127)

...two watermelons. (141:265)

...catch any fishes. (77:129)

Suppletive Forms Regularized (with or without suppletion)

...make snowmans. (115:81)

these two old mans (187:19)

...16 or 17 mens. (87:114)

...grand, grand childrens, I have three. (103:114)

each others

They could have separated a little bit, you know, from each others. (130:12)

...leaning on each others. (150:18)

3. Count/Mass Neutralization in Quantifier

There wasn't that much places at that time for us to go to. (76:90)

Too much divorces are going on. (103:44)

There's too much kids down there. (116:472)

...too many modern stuff (105:2)

4. This + Plural Noun (actually phonological derivation)

...this days. (81:65)

...this worms, they get into your body. (82:42)

...going into this nightclubs. (106:44).

...on this cars. (121:92)

5. Associative Plural

and them

When did Sherry and them go to Gallup. (105:5)

Is your Daddy and them playing Sunday? (91:193)

Alfred's and them's band. (85:726)

My Uncle Ralph's and them's little girl. (141:6)

and those guys

Do you see Byron and those guys? (141:326)

George and those guys. (141:432)

6. Second Person Plural

Did you guys get to throw the ball to them? (115:38)

You guys didn't had no running water. (85:628)

In back of you guys, I think it's in back of you guys or in front of you guys. (118:253)

Do youse watch any good movies on TV? (141:141)

7. Article Absence

...there was_State Fair. (112:121)

They won_championship. (80:23)

...in_lot of ways. (104:201)

We used to have_lot of fun. (103:12)

(Partial explanation in phonological rules.)

8. Article Presence with Proper Names or Idioms

...go to the Kennedy (a junior high school). (85:1065)

...play the hardball. (123:95)

...for kids not to play with the fire. (106:112)

...in the kindergarten. (118:377)

I. Pronouns

1. Pronominal Apposition

Me and that Terry Choma, we got there before them and then, me and Maria, we went back and that Joe... (85:287)

2. Within Relative Clause

...those things that they go around. (112:44)

...and there was lady that we can't see her. (119:1)

3. Relative Pronouns

What

A lot of Indians sell their things what they're selling. (102:154)

The first part what I said. (102:259)

Relative Pronoun Absence

The time I was a child, mostly_we did was work and work. (106:190)

4. Personal Dative

I'm gonna buy me a motorcycle and minibike though. (121:20)

She had her a baby. (117:92)

I bought me some earrings, I bought me a ring. (119:273)

We bought us a trailer. (119:544)

5. Accusative Case Pronouns

Just me and Mom went to the laundry. (113:115)

Us three were at my house. (142:44)

Who's her? (119:552)

J. Determiners

1. Introductory that

A girl from Mexico somewhere babysitted, then she taught them Spanish and one time we went to this Spanish restaurant and that waitress was talking to us Spanish. (89:224)

She was walking to her house and a car was coming after her, that John Travolta was driving it and another girl. (77:116)

2. a/an neutralization

We got into a accident. (79:106)

A easier way of life. (105:84)

...a eagle. (133:157)

3. them/those

I like to see all them girls on the beach. (105:50)

K. Prepositions

1. in/on/at

In the other side of Santa Fe, the ambulance began to go real slow. (80:707)

Larry was reading it on the paper. (80:931)

They's about how many of them in a team. (106:18)

The girl was in the beach. (132:94)

In the night we used to play hide and go seek. (118:287)

...then at the last part. (77:107)

...at the last part, all the kids got killed. (133:139)

My lessons are at Monday night. (105:109)

2. to Absence

Do you like to go_other pueblos and see the dances? (88:157)

We're gonna add_our house. (118:418)

What movies did you get to go_with Eddie? (117:982)

What other States have you been_. (149:655)

3. Other

Did she make it for cheerleading? (117:998)

...their appreciation of what the teachers had done. (125:157)

I got a Mr. Goodbar by Rita. (105:74)

No, just leave it for it could burn. (116:749)

Wetting the dirt for it won't go onto the house. (116:750)

II. Phonological Features

A. Consonant Clusters

1. Syllable-Final Simplification

[tɛs]	'test'
[fa^{I}n]	'find'
[mIs]	'missed'

2. Effect on Suffixial Formations

[mæ sIs]	'masks'	(81:151)
[prisIs]	'priest's'	(118:675)
[æsIs]	'asks'	(144:62)

B. Devoicing

1. Syllable-Final VC

[hæt]	'had'	(85:628)
[yart]	'yard'	(103:100)
[hæf]	'have'	(104:150)
[lif]	'leave'	(144:441)

2. Syllable-Final VCC

[kIts]	'kids'	
[kɔlt]	'called'	(116:591)
[kIlt]	'killed'	(144:122)

3. VCV Devoicing

[isi]	'easy'	(83:148)
[sopɚ]	'sober'	(85:221)
[arkʸu]	'argue'	(85:188)

C. Glottal

1. Syllable-Final

[hæʔ]	'had'
[yarʔ]	'yard'
[gUʔ]	'good'
[bIlʔ]	'build'

2. Epenthetic Glottal

[gɔˀə]	'gonna'	(85:430)
[ðɛˀəbaut]	'then about'	(104:85)
[dɛ ʔ I]	'then he'	(144:530)

D. Nasals

1. Epenthetic g/k

[swIŋg]	'swing'	(78:4)
[sIŋgIŋ]	'singing'	
[sIŋkIn]	'singing'	(78:80)

2. Non-Reduction of nt to n

[həntʰIŋ]	'hunting'	(82:128)
[plæ ntʰIt]	'planted'	(141:128)
[sɛntɛnsIs]	'sentences'	(82:223)

3. Deletion of Syllable-Final Nasal (Compensatory Nasalization)

[spɛ̃]	'spent'	(76:28)
[sIŋgĨ]	'singing'	(83:158)
[mã^{Ĩ}]	'mind'	(103:29)

4. Devoiced Nasal

[ahN] //	'on'	
[dɛ̃^{h}]//	'them'	(102:198)

E. Palatalization/Labialization

1. Depalatalization in Unstressed Syllables (including loss of [iy] syllables)

[IndIn]	'Indian'	(83:157)
[æmbəlɨns]	'ambulance'	(83:167)
[ɛkspIrɛns]	'experience'	(76:370)
[mIlən]	'million'	(100:64)
[ǰunə]	'junior'	(121:28)

2. Delabialization in Unstressed Syllables

[ikIls]	'equals'	(78:41)
[ba^{I}l^{I}ŋəl]	'bilingual'	(102:159)

3. ǰ/y Neutralization (Spanish-influenced)

[ǰʊr]	'you're'	(80:401)
[ǰɛs]	'yes'	(103:30)

4. hw Medial Retention

[ɛnihwɛr]	'anywhere'	(118:98)
[ɛvrihwɛr]	'everywhere'	

F. θ/ð

1. Syllable-Initial Predominance of Stop

[dIs] and		
[dæt]	'this and that'	(102:250)
[tIŋk]	'think'	

2. Occasional Final f or s

[wIf]	'with'	(85:831)
[bIrsde]	'birthday'	(88:150)
[bof]	'both'	(125:54)

G. r and l

1. l in Syllable-Final Position (particularly after high back vowels

[skuh]	'school'	(82:205)
[sku:]	'school'	(90:2)

[hwa^{i}l̥]	'while'	(103:16)
[oh]	'old'	(104:22)

2. Initial Cr Clusters

[p^{w}ogIms]	'programs'	(100:63)
[p^{w}ablemz]	'problems'	(100:11)
[bəðɚz]	'brothers'	(101:26)

3. ə before l (or tl)

[toli]	'totally'	(114:119)
[lIl]	'little'	

4. ulr Sequence

[ǰuwri]	'jewelry'	(105:139)
[ǰuwri]	'jewelry'	(106:39)

H. Syllable Deletion

1. Unstressed Initial Syllable

[mɛrǰɛnsi]	'emergency'	(141:120)
[tIsIpɛt]	'participate'	

2. Unstressed _

[grɛkri]	'Gregory'	(133:14)
[rɛglɚ]	'regular'	

I. Vowels

1. Neutralization of i/I

[lif]	'live'
[dis]	'this'

2. Neutralization of ɛ/æ (particularly before l)

[kɛæli]	'Kelly'	(116:396)
[yælIŋ]	'yelling'	(116:655)
[bælt]	'belt'	(118:70)

3. Stressed ə/a

[wans]	'once'	(131:108)
[ran]	'run'	

4. Non-diphthongized o

[no]	'no'	(particularly Tag)
[bot]	'boat'	

J. Suprasegmentals

Stress and Tone

Intonation

Syllable-Timed Rhythm

Laguna Sample

I. Grammatical Features

A. Verb Phrase

1. Tense

Shifting Tense

We were riding the rocket plane and I keep tryin' to spin. (13:206)

They caught you right away and take you to court. (34:13)

I pulled over as far as I can to the median. (51:616)

Perfect Forms

In those days, long time ago, we have to make our own playthings. (34:6)

2. Verb Forms

Irregular Forms

Regularization

Somebody drived me up there. (10:496)

He throwed it almost way out on the beach. (52:796)

Guess how much me and my brother's TVs costed. (11:791)

They have growed their hair long. (34:25)

Preterit as Participle

Have you saw any movies? (10:318)

Have you went to go see that? (10:1204)

Have you did anything, Mr. Stout? (10:221)

Most of the things were froze. (34:10)

Participle as Preterit

I done a lot of outdoor things. (49:133)

That's what I done with Regina. (51:327)

Bare Root

As I grew older, I hear different people talking. (58:233)
(may be tense shifting instead)

Different Strong Form

That lady brung a rug. (53:23)

She brang some clothes for me. (68:389)

have Auxiliary Reduction

I seen her work. (34:20)

I seen this somewhere. (50:171)

I been cheated. (58:193)

But they been losin' most of their games too. (72:400)

-ing absence

In the fall, everybody goes deer hunt____. (19:447)

There was like a little stream go___ through. (53:23)

3. Idiomatic Lexical Differences

I contested that night (competed in a contest) (53:34)

He icings them (frosts/ices cakes) (53:198)

We coulda won them, too. (72:382) (=beaten)

B. Concord

1. be

There was these two mans. (11:22)

How many teams is there then? (19:113)

Maybe you was in Albuquerque. (34:11)

What's my parents gonna think? (48:294)

2. Third Person Singular Present

As long as the teacher have respect (23:16)

If your top don't spin...(34:4)

But he don't know. (41:292)

C. Adverbs

1. Time Adverbs

still yet

Then still yet we haven't had too much rain. (51:92)

But still yet the children will have a chance to go to the pools. (51:123)

before

Just recently I lost my directions but before I never did. (59:1060)

(in) those days

In those days, long time ago, we have to make our own playthings. (34:6)

Cause those days, we didn't even have the paved roads yet. (34:9)

positive anymore

Yeah anymore you have to tell them constantly. (59:109)

ever/never

We never did know how to speak English. (34:23)
(=didn't know English when started school)

Can you remember the last time you were ever together with them?
(36:370) (=not excluding the possibility they'll be together again)

2. Repetitive Adverbs

Now kids stay in bed till about nine o'clock now. (34:6)

3. Adverbial Placement

Time and Location/Direction

She stayed all day here. (49:1054)

So along came one day a prince. (53:7)

4. Intensifying Adverbs

Remember those big, big ole buildings where they make sugar? (10:325)

It's a big ole white mountain (61:38)

Tired of the thing right quick. (49:37)

5. Other

Every year we plan to do that but we haven't even gotten around to it anymore. (35:10)

Do you remember if everybody spoke English? No, it took us a long time to even learn. (49:17)

We had to close the school down because on count of the heat. (34:10)

They just stop you for nothing without any reason. (35:16)

D. Negation

1. Multiple Negation

I didn't do nothing fun. (10:159)

My brother don't like nobody so I can't go to nobody. (11:485)

We never used to have no policemen around. (34:12)

There's not hardly no rides like that. (53:353)

2. Negative Indefinite + Negativized Verb Phrase

The phone would ring and nobody won't be on there. (11:1327)

Pretty soon nobody wasn't painting no more.

E. Questions

1. No tag

Generalized no with Positive

That's a eightpointer, no? (10:469)

Karen knows, no? (11:515)

Course, they were used for things, that's why, no? (34:15)

With Negative

Then he doesn't even get that other ones, no?

In Non-Tag Formations as Related to you know

They wanted to be named after their mother, no, cause their mother died, no? (13:403)

God, the police stopped me the other day, no? (53:18)

F. Comparatives

1. Pleonastic Comparative Constructions

I think things get worser. (34:24)

They're more scarier. (53:17)

One of our goodest players was Darryl. (69:280)

Are the prices more lower than in Grants? (19:304)

2. Neutralization of comparative/superlative

Whoever gets the more of those little red dots, they win. (54:1198)

3. Other

He seemed more prejudiced than trying to be fair. (72:139)

G. Relativization

1. Pleonastic Relativization

favorite...like

I guess baseball's about the most favorite sport that they really like to play. (35:2)

H. Nominals

1. Plural Absence

the round_are over (10:103)

Melvin and those guy_(41:254)

remember those tricycle handlebar_ (10:1313)

I played horseshoe_ (58:37)

2. Noun Classes

Expansion of Count Nouns

a whole bunch of polices (10:335)

make good potteries (34:21)

usually I bake them whole bunch of breads (49:13)

they have their hairs all shaved (53:16)

I tried to get barks off the trees so I could build a fire. (59:830)

Plural with -Z

Those reindeers just laughed at him. (54:917)

They saw some fishes. (68:742)

Suppletive Forms Regularized (with or without suppletion)

and these mans were fighting (10(1):266)

They let their childrens talk back to them. (58:1616)

each others

They usually shoot each others. (34:1)

We don't know each others that well. (49:325)

3. Count/mass Neutralization in Quantifier

They lost quite a bit of lambs that year. (34:12)

4. This + Plural Noun (actually phonological derivation)

this guys (10:285)

there was this people (53:16)

there's this people (53:16)

this past two years (58:445)

5. Associative Plural

and them

My mom and them were having a party. (10:1043)

My brother and them are moving. (13:547)

When we got to Jim Buck's and them's house...(68:180)

6. Second Person Plural

Have yous went to go see that? (10:945)

7. Article Absence

There was__bunch of papers (11:364)

There's ____lot of traffic now (34:10)

I like ____ Dolphins but the boys don't like ____Dolphins. (football) (36:250)

Kids'll get in__circle (60:42)

I. Pronouns

1. Left dislocation

This lady, she honked the horn. (10:985)

My grandma, she bought me a ...(11:752)

That man, he was working on that building. (54:6)

2. Relative Pronouns

What

There's a lady what died. (10:846)

A basket what was full of clothes. (68:45)

giving me typing paper what she don't need (68:451)

Relative Pronoun Absence

That would be about the only place I can think of ___ was hard getting out. (51:4)

There was only one guy___was drunk. (68:3)

There's hardly anybody____owns horses. (34:15)

3. Personal Dative

...go buy me some Zits. (68:9)

I made me a shawl. (59:408)

4. Accusative Case Pronouns

Her and I were always real close. (49:620)

Him and his friend was gonna scared them. (53:24)

Me and my little godsister rode...(69:80)

Me and him got up in a tree. (68:180)

J. Determiners

1. Introductory that

My sister was taking a picture of us and then that wave came...(13:709)

That man, he was working on that building...(beginning of story) (54:6)

There was a old lady that that priest said "get faith" (68:13)

He got in that boat (first mention) (52:195)

2. a/an Neutralization

a alibi (53:

a old mission (53:16)

a old lady (68:13)

3. them/those

most of them people are dead (60:1531)

...go down to the baseball field and watch them games...(68:1)

K. Prepositions

1. in/on/at

...and in the night I went up... (13:97)

He was on a wheelchair. (34:21)

...how to respond, like, in certain points. (49:1034)

...kids who had the practice of learning to read and are in practice of reading books...(50:337)

2. Other

I was getting change out of a dollar. (13:267)

They were surprised of the rules that we had. (19:103)

That's their earning of money. (34:14)

It was just destroying of the beauty. (49:15)

It never resulted into anything real serious. (49:19)

He took her grandma out ___ the cupboard. (52:570)

...if a person can make something out from their hands. (58:1439)

L. Clause Combiners

1. or either

...getting the wood or either getting the horses. (50:117)

2. if

(omitted)

...and see___everything was in order. (19:93)

...try to see ___ they can get away. (19:756)

(added)

...unless if it's something very very interesting. (49:182)

...not unless if I went with them. (51:51)

I don't know whether if they will give it to her. (51:266)

I don't remember whether if I ever had a boyfriend. (51:285)

3. Other

He lifted up that rope for that girl could crawl under. (10:117)

...so they can understand what you want for them to do. (34:24)

They just go right by him, like as if he wasn't around. (35:22)

II. Phonological Features

A. Consonant Clusters

1. Syllable-Final Simplification (generally restricted)

[r^{I}ɛpɛk]	'respect'	(58:1653)
[ɛˈksɛp]	'except'	(34:14)
[fɚs]	'first'	(35:18)
[gra^{w}n]	'ground'	(34:10)

2. Effect on suffixial Formations

[testIz]	'tastes'	(10:1354)

B. Devoicing

1. Syllable-Final VC

[nus]	'news'	(36:281)
[hæf]	'have'	(36:306)
[wIk]	'wig'	(41:741)
[dIsis]	'disease'	(51:198)

2. Syllable-final VCC

[kɔlt]	'called'	(49:7)

3. VCV Devoicing

[dIsIšənz]	'decisions'	(36:317)

4. Other

[tælz̥ yə]	'tells you'	(11:343)
[rɛsɚvešən]	'reservation'	(51:110)

C. Glottal

1. Syllable-Final

[garʔ]	'guard'	[wɚlʔ]	'world'
[bæʔ]	'bad'	[da^{y}ʔ]	'died'
[skIʔ]	'skid'	[la^{w}ʔnɛs]	'loudness'
[hʌ̃ʔ]	'hunt'	[fli^{y}ʔwʊʔ]	'fleetwood'

2. Epenthetic Glottal

[dəʔænsɚ]	'the answer'	(11:343)

3. Other

[hIʔn̩]	'hidden'	(49:548)

D. Nasals

1. Predominance of Syllable-Final n in Unstressed Syllables

[ra^{y}dIn]	'riding'	(35:1)
[spikIn]	'speaking'	(34:23)
[hIɾIn]	'hitting'	(52:260)
[kwIlt^{h}In]	'quilting'	(59:246)
[pent^{h}In]	'painting'	(60:396)

2. ŋ → n Other Than in Suffix -ing

[ʌlɔn]	'along'	(35:55)
[sanz]	'songs'	(51:26)
[lɔn]	'long'	(51:49)
[əman]	'among'	(51:351)
[brIn]	'bring'	(60:17)

3. Non-Reduction of nt to ň

[hʌnt^{h}Iŋ]	'hunting'	(19:445)
[ma^{w}nt^{h}Inz	'mountains'	(19:483)
[čænt^{h}In]	'chanting'	(49:12)

4. Deletion of Syllable-Final Nasal (Compensatory Nasalization)

[tã$^{\tilde{y}}$]	'time'	(10:1652)
[wʌ̃]	'won'	(34:418)
[mæ̃]	'man'	(52:332)
[ərã$^{\tilde{w}}$]	'around'	(68:326)
[fɛ̃]	'fence'	(68:409)
[lIvĨ]	'living'	(34:3)

E. Palatalization/Labialization

1. Depalatalization in Unstressed Syllables (including loss of y syllables)

[IndIn[	"Indian'	(10:1380)
[rɛgə lɚ]	'regular'	(11:165)
[partIkə lɚ]	'particular'	(19:412)

2. Other

[musIk]	'music'	(48:115)
[dIstrIbušən]	'distribution'	(34:180)

F. θ/ð

1. Syllable-Initial or Final stop (not predominant)

[do]	'thought'	(10:1010)
[də]	'the'	(11:343)
[tIŋk]	'think'	(51:88)
[ʌdɚ]	'other'	(51:15)
[samTIn]	'something'	(49:642)
[bod]	'both'	(49:622)

G. r and l

1. l in Syllable-Final Position (particularly after high back vowels)

[sku:]	'school'	(13:450)
[čIrɛn]	'children'	(34:92)
[ɔrďi]	'already'	(51:166)

2. Initial Cr Clusters

[p^{w}ogrəmz]	'programs'	(61:77)

3. ə before l (or tl)

[lI:l]	'little'	(49:542)

H. Vowels

1. Neutralization of i/I

[livIn]	'living'	(34:3)
[ðis]	'this'	(11:22)
[skiʔ]	'skid'	(10:1525)

2. Neutralization of ɛ/æ

[kɛndi]	'candy'	(10:619)
[tælz]	'tells'	(11:343)
[dɛnsIn]	'dancing'	(48:119)
[rɛnč]	'ranch'	(49:328)

3. Stressed ɔ/a

[əman]	'among'	(51:351)

[samtin]	'something'	(49:642)

4. non-diphthongized o

[no]	'no'

I. Suprasegmentals

stress and tone

intonation

Appendix B

Interview Questionnaires

Child Interview

Note: The important thing about the interview is to get a lot of speech from the child. Follow up any topic that the child seems interested in talking about.

I. Current Activities

1. What sorts of games do the kids play around here? How do you play? How do you decide who's IT? (Examples: kickball, stick tag, marbles.)

2. Do you like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite programs? Can you tell me what happened the last time you saw one of them? (Examples: Gilligan's Island, Brady Bunch.)

How about other TV shows that you watch? Tell me about them.

3. What do you do on special days, like Christmas or Feast Days? What kinds of special things did you do on the last Feast Day?

How about Christmas? How do you prepare for Christmas? What do you do on Christmas Day?

How about Halloween? What do you do then? Did anything really scary ever happen to you on Halloween? Tell me about it.

4. Do you go on a lot of trips? What's your favorite place you've been to? What did you do there?

Did you go on the trip to Disneyland? What did you do there?

Do you go to Albuquerque much? What do you do there?

5. Do you have a pet at your house?

6. Have you seen any good movies lately? Tell me about it.

Can you tell me about any other movies you've seen? (Examples: Jaws, Night of the Hawk, King Kong.)

II. Everyday Living

1. Did you ever go fishing or hunting? Where do you go fishing? Tell me about a fishing trip that was a lot of fun.

How about hunting? What kind of animals do you hunt for? Have you ever heard any stories about dangerous things that happened on a hunting trip? Tell me about it.

2. Did you ever go to the State Fair? What do you do there?

Did you ever get lost? What happened?

3. Have you ever seen an accident, like with a car, or somebody swimming? What happened?

4. What do you do on days when you're not in school, like during the summer.

Do you have a special friend you like to play with? What are they like? What do you do together?

III. Tradition

1. Do you know any good story-tellers? What kinds of stories do they tell? Can you tell me one?

Any others you liked?

What do you think makes a good story-teller?

2. Have you ever made pottery or seen anybody make pottery? How do you do it?

How about jewelry? How do you make it?

Do you know how to do any cooking? What do you make? How do you make it? (Examples: hamburgers, tortillas, tacos.)

3. Do you know how to do different dances like the Buffalo Dance or Deer Dance? How do you do them? When do you do them? Do you know anybody who got a trophy for dancing?

4. Do your grandparents ever tell you stories? Can you tell me one?

IV. School

1. Do you remember your first day at school? What happened?

2. Did anybody every play a trick on the teacher? What happened?

What happens when you have a substitute teacher?

Did you every do anything to the teacher on April Fool's Day? What did you do?

3. Do you have any idea what you want to be when you grow up? Why do you think you'd like that?

4. Do you talk differently to your parents than you do to your friends or brothers or sisters? How about a teacher? What do you think is the difference? Do you think the people on TV talk the same way you do? Do you know anybody who tried to change the way they talked?

Teenage Interview

Note: The important thing about the interview is to get a lot of speech from the teenager. Follow up any topic that the teenager seems interested in talking about.

I. Current Activities

1. What kinds of games do the young kids play around here? Do you remember how to play them? (Examples: kickball, stick tag, marbles.) How did you decide who was IT?

2. Do you like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite programs? Can you tell me what happened the last time you saw the show?

How about another program? What happened?

3. What kind of music do you like? Why? Do you have a favorite singer or group? Why do you like them?

4. Do you go to the movies a lot? What have you seen lately? What is it about?

How about another movie you've seen lately?

What's the best movie you ever saw? What's it about?

5. Do you play any sports? How about the teams in high school, do you follow them? Can you tell about a real exciting game you played in or saw?

II. Everyday Living

1. Did you ever go fishing or hunting? Where at? How do you do it? Have you ever heard of any dangerous hunting stories?

2. Have you ever been in a bad accident? Have you ever seen one? What happened?

3. What do you think about teenage drivers? Are they really careless?

If you could have any car you wanted, what would it be like?

4. What types of things do you do during the summer?

Do you ever go up to Albuquerque? What do you do there?

Have you ever taken any trips somewhere else? Where did you go? What did you do?

5. Do you think you would not ever want to live in a city away from where you live now? Why/Why not?

6. Do you know of kids who move away after they finish school here? Do some of them move back? Why/Why not?

7. Sometimes people say that teenagers don't respect their parents like they used to. Do you think that's true? Why/Why not?

8. Have you ever seen these programs that show what teenagers were like in the 50's, like "Happy Days"? How are they different from teenagers today? What do you think of someone like the Fonz? Why?

III. Tradition

1. Do you know anybody that's a good story-teller? Can you remember some of the stories? What happened?

What do you think makes a good story-teller?

2. What kinds of things do you do during the Feast Days? Can you dance all the dances?

3. How does your family celebrate Christmas? Can you remember a special present you got when you were a kid? What was it like?

4. What did you used to do at Halloween? Were you ever really scared? Can you remember your favorite costume? What was it like?

5. Do you go to the State Fairs? What kinds of things do you do there? Do you ever remember getting lost, or anybody you know getting lost? What happened?

6. Do you know how to make pottery? How?

How about jewelry? How?

7. Do you think this area has changed much since you were a kid? Why/Why not?

8. What are you going to do when you're done with school? Why?

IV. School

1. Do you remember your first day at school? What was it like? Were you scared? Why/Why not?

2. Did anybody ever play a trick on the teacher? What happened?

How about on April Fool's day? Anything special happen?

3. Would you want to be a substitute teacher in your class? Why/Why not?

4. What do you think makes a good teacher? How about a bad one?

5. What do you think is the best thing about going to school?

What's the worst thing about school?

6. Do you think you talk different in school than outside? How? How about the way you talk to your friends compared to school talk? Do you know anybody who tried to change the way they talk? What happened?

7. If you were a parent, what important things would you remember to do with your kids?

What wouldn't you do with your kids?

Adult Interview

Note: The important thing about the interview is to get a lot of speech from the adult. Follow up any topic that the adult seems interested in talking about.

I. Current Activities

1. What sorts of games do the kids around here play? Do you know how to play them? How about some of the games that you played when you were a youngster? Tell me about them.

Are there other things that kids do today that were different when you were young? Tell me about them.

2. How do you spend a typical day? What are some of the things you have to do each day? Do you work here at the Pueblo, or do you have to go somewhere else to work?

Do you do anything special on weekends? Tell me about it.

3. Does your family like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite TV programs? Can you tell me about a recent one you enjoyed? What happened?

Can you tell me about another show you enjoyed?

Do you think television is good for children? Why/Why not?

4. Over at Taos, people have their own radio show on KKIT, which gives thenews and other things that are happening in the language of the Pueblo. Have you ever heard that program? What did you think about it? Do you think it would be a good thing to have a radio program like that here? Why?

5. Do you have a lot of relatives around here? Anywhere else? Do you ever get everyone together for family reunions or other types of get togethers? When does that happen? What do you do?

Has there been one of these gatherings that stands out in your mind? What happened?

6. Would you ever want to live in a city away from New Mexico? Why/Why not?

II. Everyday Living

1. Do you have a garden? What are some of the things that you grow in your garden? Is that what most people grow? How much time do you spend working on your garden?

2. Back East, some people try to plant their gardens "according to the signs". Do you know of anybody here that does that? Do you know how that works? Are there any other special beliefs you follow when you're planting?

3. Can you remember a real bad winter here? What happened? Have you ever been stuck in the snow out on the reservation or anywhere else? Can you tell me about it? How about droughts?

4. Do you think this area has changed much in the past few years? How has it changed?

5. Does anyone in your family work with clay, do they make pottery? Where do they get their designs?

6. Do you or anybody in your family do a lot of hunting or fishing? What kind? Has anything scary ever happened on a hunting trip? What happened?

III. Remembering

1. Do you remember your first day at school? What was it like? Did everyone in your class speak English, or did some people have to learn English when they got to school? How did they learn English?

2. Can you remember your first girlfriend/boyfriend? How did you meet them? Did your family give you any trouble because of it, did they watch you "like a hawk"?

Do you think children have too much freedom these days? In what ways?

3. What are some important things you think people should remember when raising their kids? Are there some important things to remember not to do? Like what?

4. How important were the older people, the elders, to your growing up? In some places, the younger generations don't show respect to the elders. Do you think this is happening here? What can you do about it?

5. Did you ever get lost when you were a child? What happened? Where were you? Who found you?

6. Have you ever been back East? Where did you go and what did you think about it? Have you ever visited any country outside the United States? Would you like to? Why/Why not?

7. Is there any one event which you think really affected everyone here at the Pueblo? What happened and why did it affect everyone?

IV. Tradition

1. Is there somebody here at the Pueblo who is a very good storyteller? What kinds of stories do they tell? What makes a good storyteller: are they born with the gift, or do they learn it from listening to other people.

2. What special things do you do for Feast days? Do you entertain a lot of people? Do you dance, or does anyone in your family dance? What about at other Pueblos?

Do you go to Feast days during the summer in other places?

Which is your favorite Feast day. Why?

3. What was the biggest Feast day that you can remember? Was it a long time ago?

Are Feast days different now? How?

Appendix C

Oral Reading Passages

Difficulty Level 5: Mary Jo's Puppy

Every time Mary Jo saw a dog, any dog - big or little, black, white, old or young - she wished it belonged to her.

"I would rather have a dog than anything on earth," she said at least twice a week, usually at the dinner table. She sighed. "I'd be the happiest person in this town if I had a puppy." She often read the ads from the newspaper under "Pets for Sale" out loud to her parents.

"Puppies must be trained. It takes a lot of time," said her father.

"I'd love to train a puppy!" said Mary Jo. "I'd do it all myself!"

"Puppies cry at night when you first bring them home," said her father. "Nobody gets any sleep."

"They cry because they're lonesome. I'll be the one to get up in the night and talk to my puppy," said Mary Jo.

"They must be fed every day. They must have fresh water. They should be brushed. They must be given baths," said her father.

"I'd do it!" said Mary Jo. "I want to feed and brush and wash a dog."

"A good dog owner must take the full responsibility for her pet," said her father.

Responsibility was a word Mary Jo had heard a lot lately - ever since her sister had been given a canary for her birthday. She was being responsible for her bird, but she was quite a bit older than Mary Jo. Besides, a bird in a cage was not as great a responsibility as a puppy.

"I would be responsible," said Mary Jo.

Mary Jo read dog books by the dozen. She drew pictures of dogs. She wrote dog stories and dog poems. One morning she put a two-page theme by her father's plate, "Why I Want a Dog."

It looked as if fate were on Mary Jo's side when a new pet store opened downtown.

She showed the big opening day ad in the newspaper to her parents. She read: "Special for This Opening. Small, lovable puppies. Only $19 while they last!"

"I would like a badger," said Mary Jo's brother. "Do they have any badgers?" Jeff had just been looking at a picture of badger family in a new book from the library.

"Can't we go down to see the new pet store? And the Puppies?" Mary Jo begged.

"All right, Mary Jo. I believe you're old enough to take care of a puppy, " said her father.

"Oh," shouted Mary Jo. "Get your coats, everybody! Let's go!"

"They are cute," said Mary Jo's mother when they stood gazing down at a little pen full of puppies in the new pet store.

"Cute!" said Mary Jo. "They're the sweetest creatures ever born in this world!"

Her father laughed. "Which one do you want?"

Mary Jo knew right away. One little furry baby had wobbled over to lick her fingers the minute she knelt beside the pen.

"This one," she said. "He came right to me. He's the most lovable!"

"Have him wrapped up then," said her father.

"Wrapped up?" said Mary Jo. Then she saw that her father was joking. He got out his billfold.

The first thing the family did when they got home was to put newspaper all over the kitchen floor.

"It's only until you're housebroken," she told him, He reached playfully for her shoe string and looked up into her face.

"Be sure to call the vet this week and make an appointment," said Mary Jo's father. "He should have his puppy shots right away."

Mary Jo and her friend Laurie spent hours deciding on a name for him. They made lists and pored over the section of names at the back of the dictionary.

Jeff suggested "Mr. Picklepone." That was the silliest name he could think of.

In the end they decided on "Teddy" because the puppy looked so much like a small teddy bear, and he even squeaked.

He squeaked and cried - especially at night. No matter how cozy Mary Jo made his bed in the kitchen or how many times Teddy yawned at bedtime, he always woke as soon as everyone was in bed and the house was still. He woke and cried as if his heart would break. Mary Jo put a night-light in the kitchen, in case he was afraid of the dark. She gave him a little snack at bedtime, in case he was hungry. She put an old toy dog in bed with him, hoping he would think it was another puppy. But he didn't.

Mary Jo walked sleepily from her warm bed out to the kitchen a dozen times a night to see Teddy. As long as she was there, he was happy. He tried to get her to play as if it were the middle of the day instead of the middle of the night, and he licked her with his loving puppy tongue. As tired as she was, Mary Jo could never feel angry with him because he was so happy each time she appeared at the kitchen door.

But by the end of the first week she could hardly get up in the mornings. She was almost late for school. Everyone looked tired because although Mary Jo was the one who got up to soothe him, Teddy woke the others with his loud, sad little cries.

A neighbor told them to wrap a clock in a blanket and put that beside Teddy in the bed. "He'll hear the tick and think it's another puppy," she told them. But it didn't fool Teddy for one minute.

Finally one morning Mary Jo's mother found her asleep on the paper covered kitchen floor.

"Is this ever going to end?" Mary Jo's mother asked at the breakfast table. "I don't ever remember hearing of any puppy crying as many nights as this one has."

"Some of them get used to being alone faster than others I guess," said Mary Jo's father. "But I'm beginning to wish we had never seen that dog!"

"I'm responsible, " thought Mary Jo. "I've got to think of something to keep Teddy quiet."

That afternoon when she went to the basement to get some old newspapers for the kitchen floor she saw something that gave her an idea.

After dinner that night Mary Jo said, "You'll be able to sleep tonight. I've thought of a way to keep Teddy quite."

"What is it?" asked her mother

"You'll see," said Mary Jo. She went down to the basement.

Her parents heard her lugging something up the stairs. It was an old folding cot.

"I'm going to sleep in the kitchen until Teddy is housebroken and can sleep in my room," she said.

Her mother and father looked at each other.

"Why not?" said her father. "That's probably the only thing that will solve the problem."

And it did. Teddy slept without making one squeak all night with Mary Jo on the old cot just above his basket.

Mary Jo thought it was fun to sleep in the kitchen. It was cozy to hear the clock hum and the faucet over the sink drip now and then. If she woke at daybreak, it was nice to see the new day arriving in the kitchen so early. There was a window to the east, so sunlight came to the kitchen first.

And it was fun to pretend to be asleep when her mother or father or brother came to the kitchen.

"Mary Jo, wake up!" they would say.

"Oh is it morning already?" Mary Jo would say. "I was sound asleep."

And she hugged Teddy and tried not to giggle.

Difficulty Level 9

Gilbert and the Duck

On weekends and evenings and vacations I am a detective. I do not wear a disguise. I do not need disguises because I am only eleven years old. Nobody suspects an eleven-year-old boy of being a detective. My name is Gilbert. I live in a housing project. I live in 12H.

Someday I am going to be a full-time detective. So for now I practice every chance I get. For instance, I make it my business to ride the elevator. This is the best way to keep track of who comes and goes. In our building everyone comes and goes by the elevators - except sometimes the people on the second floor use the fire stairs.

Two days ago at 8:15 A.M. I step into an Up elevator. I ride alone to the top floor - the 25th. I do not get off. The elevator goes down. It stops at nearly every floor. As usual at 8:15, the elevator is jammed by the time we reach the 17th floor. There is a lot of pushing and grunting. I think I will be crushed to death by this lady in front of me. But I do not say anything. Probably she is thinking she will be crushed by the man in front of her. Besides I think we will all die anyway from this other man's stinking cigar.

Finally the elevator reaches the lobby and everyone gets off. Everyone except me. Now is when I head back to 12H for breakfast. I make my move. As the lady in front of me gets off I step to the front of the elevator and press close to the wall where the self-service buttons are. I wait nervously for the doors to close. I do not like anyone to notice that I stay on the elevator. I do not want people getting wise to me.

The doors close. No one has seen me. I push the 12 button and get ready to relax. Then it happens. I get this feeling. I know that I am not alone. Slowly I turn my head to one side. I look out of the corner of one eye. I am right. I am not alone. There is a duck in the elevator with me. A white duck with orange feet.

Ducks are not allowed in our building. No Pets of Any Sort are allowed in the projects. So if anyone gets on this elevator now and sees me and this duck together, I am going to be in big trouble. It is not easy to get into the projects - especially a low-income project like ours. The rent is low and they've got plenty of water and heat and all. You have to show need before you can even get on the waiting list. We waited two years before our number came up.

"Listen!" I say to the duck. "I am not going to get us kicked out of here for a duck."

I looked away. If anybody does get onto the elevator, he will not see me paying any attention to any duck.

But the elevator goes straight to 12 without stopping. The door opens and I dash out. I am safe. I will go and have my breakfast in peace, and the elevator will carry the duck to some other floor.

And then what? Who will find the duck next? What if it's the Housing Inspector? What if it's somebody that likes to eat duck?

I turn around and look into the elevator. The duck is standing there on these ridiculous orange feet - looking at me.

As the doors start to close, the dumb duck quacks. I can't stand it. I stick my arms through the closing doors just in time. The doors open. I grab the duck and charge down the hall. Ducks are not my usual line of work. But I don't have anything against them either. And I just don't like the idea of anyone cooking a duck that has looked me straight in the eye and quacked.

"O.K., Easter," I say, "I'll take your case."

I call him Easter because I figure he is probably some kid's leftover Easter present. Easter was a long time ago, but that's the only time we ever get ducks coming into our neighborhood. At Easter there are always a lot of guys around selling baby ducks and chicks and bunnies from the country.

It is almost September. Next week I will go back to school. I figure Easter the duck must be special if he has managed to stay alive in the city all the way from Easter to September.

Maybe one reason he is still alive is because he is good at keeping quiet. When I get into 12H I put him into the laundry hamper until I can have a talk with my mother. I peek through the air holes in the side of the hamper. The duck just sits there peeking back at me, not making any noise at all. Maybe he is stupid or maybe it's just that he isn't a quacker. My mother says that I am still waters that run deep. I guess she means I think a lot even though I don't say much. Maybe Easter is like that.

Probably Easter is still alive because somebody who really loves him has been taking good care of him. I think it is important to find that somebody.

I explain all this to my mother at breakfast. I tell her how Easter quacked me straight in the eye. But she does not like the idea of a duck in our apartment one bit.

"We waited two years to get into the projects," she says, "and now you bring home a duck. A duck! If the housing police catch us with a duck in our apartment, we will be out on the street. No, Gilbert, I won't have it!"

I take my mother's hand and lead her into the bathroom. I lift up the lid of the hamper.

"Look, Mama," I say.

We both look. Easter is still sitting there - real quiet - on my striped pajamas. He tips his head to one side and looks up at Mama. Maybe this is the only way a duck can look up, but it is still a pretty cute thing to do.

Mama puts the lid back on the hamper and steers me by the head back to the kitchen.

"If your father were here—" she says, and I know then that I'm home free. My father isn't here. He's in the merchant marines and he won't be home again until the end of the next month.

Mama gives me three days to find Easter's owner. I tell her I think she is great. She is.

After breakfast Mama and I move Easter into the bathtub. We do not know anything about ducks, but we give him some water and some rolled oats. He takes a little of both then he makes a mess in the bottom of the tub and starts cleaning himself with his bill. I guess he feels at home. While I am cleaning up the tub he comes over and pushes my arm. What do you know - he's even friendly!

I would like to stay and play with him, but three days is not very long and I better get busy. Easter pulls out one of his wing feathers. I pick it up and start thinking.

First I ask myself what are the facts. I am pretty sure Easter is a lost duck and not a ducknapped one. After all, noboby would go to all the trouble of stealing a duck and then leave it in the elevator.

No, I am pretty sure Easter just walked into that elevator himself. I also think he is a project duck. Even Easter could not have walked through our neighborhood and stayed alive. The dogs would have gotten him. Or the cats. Or the kids. So Easter must be a lost project duck, who happened to wander out of somebody's apartment and into the elevator. Maybe he was following his owner.

I also know that whoever lost Easter loves and misses him very much. Anyone who would dare to hide a duck in the projects would have to be either crazy or in love with the duck. I mean, who wants to get kicked out on account of a duck? This thought reminds me I better get busy.

The doorbell rings. I answer and it's - *bonk*, *bonk* - Dennis Herter. Dennis is always bouncing a basketball and sort of nodding his head.

"You want to shoot a few baskets, Gilbert?" he says.

"No, Dennis," I say. "I'd like to, but I can't today. I'm on a case."

"On a case, hmm?" says Dennis. "Sure, sure. Big detective."

He shuffles off down the hall, bouncing his ball. *Bonk*, *bonk*, *bonk*. Dennis always talks tough as though he couldn't care less. Actually we are good friends.

It is nearly noon when I walk out of 12H. I am still carrying Easter's wing feather and I still do not have nay idea of where to look for his owner. I cannot put a note on the bulletin board in the laundry room because nobody in the projects, including me, is going to admit to having anything to do with a duck. I also can't just go from door to door asking because you never know who is going to report you to the Housing Inspector. Besides there are too many apartments for me to check in three days.

At 12:15 I step into the Down elevator. This is what I always do at noon - just to see who comes and goes. Besides, since I haven't a better plan, I think it is best to start looking for Easter's owner at the scene of the crime - where I found him, I mean.

At this time of day the elevator is usually empty going down and full going up. Today is no different. It is on the way down that I get two ideas.

My first idea is that I will look for familiar faces from this morning's run. Easter did not ring for the elevator by himself, so he must have gotten on with somebody else. Maybe that somebody saw him get on? I am not too hopeful about this idea.

Then suddenly this really great idea pops into my head. It's Easter's wing feather. I take off my belt and put it around my head. Then I stick the feather into the back of the belt. To most people I will just look like any other kid playing Indian brave. But to Easter's owner I hope I will look like somebody with one of Easter's feathers.

At lunchtime the Up elevator is full of people who have been grocery shopping or who only work half days. I do not see anyone from the 8:15 run. They are mostly nine-to-five workers who don't come home until around 6:00. Nobody pays any attention to me and my duck feather.

I spend most of the afternoon wandering around the building, hoping that the right person will see me in my duck feather and ask about Easter. At 3:35 P.M. I even try hitting my head over my mouth yealling "woo-woo-woo" at the top of my lungs in the laundry room. But all that happens is that a lady tells me, "Look, if you want to play, go out on the playground where you belong."

I follow the lady's suggestion and try my woo-woo-woo approach on the playground. This time I am noticed all right, but all that happens is some little children start yelling with me.

By this time I'm fairly discouraged, but I decide to go along with the game for a while. I think I'm too old to be playing silly games with a bunch of little children, but this is as good a way as any to advertise Easter's feather.

I am comfortably playing dead by the sandbox thinking that it's too bad to outgrow such fun, when the worst happens. I hear this *bonk*, *bonk*, *bonk* sound next to my ear. I open my eyes and it's Dennis Herter standing over me, shaking his head.

"On a case?" he asks. "Too busy to shoot baskets? Too *young* is more like it."

"Really!" I say. "I'm working now. This is all part of my plan."

I can see he doesn't believe me, but I don't try to argue. I mean, what's the point?

At 5:00 P.M. I am still fooling around on the playground.

About this time people start picking up the children from the Day Care Center. All these children whose parents both work go by on their way home. I think for a minute that this one sad-eyed little boy is watching me. Maybe he is looking at my duck feather? I go over to him hopefully, but he just runs along after his big sister.

It's about time for me to head back to the elevators. Pretty soon the nine-to-five workers will be coming home, including the ones that were with Easter and me in the elevator this morning.

This time I do not get on the elevator. There are two elevators. I do not want to be up in one while the somebody who got on with Easter this morning goes up in the other. I stay in the lobby until 6:30 P.M. I recognize five faces from this morning. This proves that all my detective practice is working. Of the five people I recognize, I manage to speak to four about Easter. Well, I don't exactly mention Easter. I just ask if they noticed anything unusual in the elevator this morning. Or if they lost anything. They didn't. At least the four people I speak to didn't.

By 6:30 the lobby is empty. A few people are still coming in, but I give up and decide to go home for supper. I push the button for the elevator. When it comes there is this same sad-eyed boy in it. I hold the door for him to get off, but he just stands there.

I say, "Don't you want to get off?"

But he keeps standing there. Well, I figure he is just a little boy who likes to ride elevators. I can understand that. I sort of like them myself. So I push the 12 button and head for home. All the way up this boy keeps looking at me. He doesn't say anything. Once he sort of smiles, but mostly he just keeps looking at me out of the saddest eyes you ever saw. Even after I get off at 12 I keep seeing those sad eyes in my mind.

Nothing much more happens that day. I fool around with Easter in the bathroom, but I don't do any more detective work. It's not that I'm lazy. It's just that I don't have any more ideas. I have two more nights and two more days left to find Easter's owner. But I don't have any more ideas.

I ask my mother what will happen if I don't find his owner. She says we will have to take him to an animal shelter. I know what that means. The End. Noboby in this city is going to adopt a full-grown duck, so the shelter will put him to sleep. Forever.

Difficulty Level 12

Moon Colonies

Four hundred years ago people from Europe were taking part in a great adventure. Some of them were getting into sailing ships to go the the American continents and colonize them. Now there is another adventure. People have reached the Moon and walked on it. In a few years we will be getting into rocket ships to colonize the Moon.

Crossing the ocean was very hard in the old days, as hard as crossing space now. It was even harder, in fact. The sailing ships took weeks to cross the stormy Atlantic, while the rocket ships take only days to reach the Moon. Besides, the sailing ships could not keep in touch with home by radio, but the astronauts can.

Life was not easy in the first colonies on the American continents. Many of the English colonists who settled in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, nearly died of disease and starvation. The colonists didn't know how to deal with the new land. They didn't know how to farm the wilderness or get along with the Indians.

Gradually, those who stayed alive learned to fit themselves into the surroundings. Some things they learned from the Indians. They learned about new crops like tobacco. They learned how to live in the woods and hunt for food. They matched their way of living to their surroundings. They made themselves part of the ecology.

The Moon colonists will have an even harder time in some ways. At least America has air, water, and food. The Moon doesn't. The Moon has a two-week day and a two-week night. It has a low gravity. People will encounter many more difficulties on the Moon than the early settlers found in the New World.

On the other hand, people know much more about the Moon today than they knew about the American continent long ago. We are much more advanced in science nowadays and can plan the Moon colony carefully. We hope that when the Moon is colonized, the settlers won't go through the terrible times of disease, hunger, and fear that made life difficult for the first colonists of Jamestown and Plymouth.

Now let's read about what a Moon colony of the future might be like. It will probably contain certain things.

Nuclear power station. This will supply the energy the colony will need. Almost everything that goes on in the colony will use up energy. Without it, everything would come to a halt. The power station will be set away from the colony. If an accident should occur there, it might destroy the colony if the station were inside a dome. Outside, it will be safe and the colonists will have time to repair whatever has gone wrong.

Ore and rock mines. The colonists will get necessary raw materials from the crust of the Moon. It will not be wise to bring everything from Earth because transportation will be too hard and too costly. If the Moon colony is to do well, the colonists must use as much of the Moon itself as possible. From the rock, they will get metals such as iron and aluminum, also uranium for the power station. They can make cement, fertilizer, and all sorts of chemicals out of the rock.

Rock processing. Near the mines will be the factories where the rocks are treated and turned into metals, chemicals, and other materials. These useful products will be shipped to the dome, while the leftover materials will be dumped far from the colony.

Even water will come from the rocks. There is no water running free on the Moon in the form of rivers, lakes, or oceans. Scientists think, however, there was once water on the Moon many millions of years ago. Most of it has vanished into space, but some has probably remained, having soaked into the soil and rocks. If the Moon rocks are crushed and baked, steam will form. If the steam is cooled, water will be produced. It can be collected and sent to the colony.

Some of the water will be treated with electric currents to break it up into hydrogen and oxygen. These gases will be collected separately and cooled into frigid liquids. Nitrogen gas will be obtained from nitrogen-containing minerals in the Moon's crust and turned into liquid too. The nitrogen and oxygen will be used to make an atmosphere for the colonists to breathe inside the dome. Naturally, the dome will be airtight so that the atmosphere doesn't escape.

The hydrogen will be used for other purposes. Some of the hydrogen, a special kind called "heavy hydrogen," will be used in very advanced nuclear power stations. Heavy hydrogen will be made to yield vast quantities of energy.

Underground lights. The colony will be supplied with light and electricity from the energy furnished by the nuclear power station. Large lights in the ceiling will make the dome bright as day. When it is time to sleep, the lights can be dimmed. In this way the colonists will have normal day and night, as on Earth.

Farm domes. The colony will need food and it will be grown in the dome. The moon's crust is similar to the Earth's and can be broken up to form a soil in which plants will grow when fertilizers and water are added. Plants that grow need energy. On earth green plants get the energy from sunlight. In the Moon colony where the large dome will shut out the dangerous rays of the Sun, plants will be bathed in special fluorescent lights to provide the necessary energy.

The growing plants will keep the atmosphere fresh and useful. You see, when humans breathe, they gradually use oxygen and replace it with another gas called carbon dioxide. The plants will use up the carbon dioxide as they grow and produce oxygen. Therefore the humans and the plants together will keep the oxygen and carbon dioxide steady in the atmosphere.

The colonists will let some of the plants continue to grow, but they will eat the rest. The wastes people produce from the food they eat will be treated to kill germs. Fresh, clean water will be baked out of the wastes, and the leftover material will be used as fertilizer. Everything moves in a cycle; the water, the oxygen, the carbon dioxide, the wastes. The only thing that will be used up will be energy from the power station.

Of course, the cycle will not be perfect. Some water and ozygen may leak away. An accident may cause some of the air to be lost. Small additional amounts of water, oxygen, and nitrogen will then be brought in from the rock processing plants.

Eventually, when the farm domes are going well, small animals will be brought in. Perhaps the colonists may even raise chickens or rabbits. Then they will have meat to eat.

Transportation. Naturally, some things will have to come from Earth; seeds for new kinds of plants, for instance, or animals that can start breeding on the Moon. The colonists will also need gadgets they can't make for themselves. And no doubt they will want a supply of books and films. Besides, people will want to travel back and forth on visits to Earth for fun or business.

Therefore, a lunar port outside the colony will be necessary Perhaps it will be reached by a moving sidewalk, for energy may be cheaper on the Moon than on Earth. The cost can be cut down because in addition to the nuclear power station, energy will be obtained from the strong sunlight on the Moon during each two-week day.

There will also be special cars for use by people who must explore the Moon, or who perhaps just want to go sightseeing. The cars will have special wheels that can travel over the uneven ground, and they will be sealed to keep in the atmosphere.

Moon-orbiting space station. Rocket ships rising from the Moon will break their trip at one of several space stations that will circle the Moon. There will be space stations circling Earth. They will supply fuel, food, and other things needed to make the flight much more comfortable and pleasant.

Housing. Inside the colony, there will be apartment houses which may be very much like those on Earth. They will feel quite homelike.

Education. People must be educated on the Moon just as on Earth, perhaps even more so, since the Moon colonists will have to operate complicated machinery in order to keep the colony going. There will be schools, even a university. There will be places where valuable scientific knowledge can be gained. For instance, at a research center people will study ways of using the Moon's high and low temperatures and the airlessness vacuum on the Moon's surface.

There will also be an astronomical observatory so that the colonists can study the sky. Such study will be much easier on the Moon because there is no air, so there are no clouds, fog or mist to blot out the sky. There will be a large radio telescope outside the dome to study radio waves from the sky. Scientists on the Moon will learn a great deal that Earth scientists can't find out now.

Recreation. The Moon colonists will want to play and have a good time too. Behind the apartment houses there will be ball parks, bowling alleys, and playgrounds. There will be museums and art galleries for people to enjoy. One thing the Moon can supply that the Earth can't is low gravity. Because of low gravity, it will be possible for the colonists to fit themselves with strong wings of light plastic and glide or actually fly. When the colony has become large enough, there will be special places where grownups and youngsters can have flying games. However, the Moon colonists will have to get used to walking and moving under low gravity. They may need to keep themselves fit in special gymnasiums in case they have to return to Earth and live under high gravity again.

In the end the colonists will have set up surroundings in which they can live. They will be part of a new ecology.

It won't be easy, though, and at first, there will be much danger. Just two or three people will be sent to the Moon at any one time, to begin with, and they will not stay more than a few days. Perhaps a special ship will be buried in the Moon's crust to serve as the home of the first colony. It will hold only two or three people. But little by little, the space under the surface crust will be enlarged and the underground settlement will begin to grow into a large, comfortable place for many people to live.

In the beginning, all materials will have to come from Earth, even food, air, and water. Slowly, parts of the nuclear power station will be brought in and put together, as well as parts of complicated machinery for processing rock. Traffic between Earth and Moon will be active for a while. Then as the years pass, less and less will have to be sent from Earth. The Moon colonists will do more and more for themselves.

Even after the Moon colonists have a large and comfortable colony, there will still be dangers. What if a meteor breaks through the dome? What if essential machinery breaks down?

What if there are some dangers about the Moon we don't know yet? For instance, what about the Moon's low gravity? It is only one-sixth the Earth's gravity. Can human beings spend long times under such low gravity without harm to the body? If they do, will they be able to come back to Earth? Maybe colonists will have to stay on the Moon all their lives.

Even so, it will be well worth the effort, for the Moon colonists can learn much that will be useful to Earth people as well as to themselves. They can study the Moon's crust, for instance. It was formed at the same time as the Earth's crust, but the Earth's crust has been disturbed by air, water, and living things. The Moon's crust has not. It can tell us a great deal about the early history of our own world.

The Moon's crust may have chemicals in it that will help us to understand how certain chemicals formed on Earth very early in its history and then developed into living things. It may even be that the Moon's crust contains very simple germ-like creatures of its own. They will give us another kind of life to study.

Because of the Moon's airlessness, scientists can study the outer universe much better on the Moon than on Earth. The Moon's low gravity makes it much easier to launch rockets from the Moon than from Earth. The Moon may therefore be the base for new explorations. What's more, Moon colonists will be so used to living under low gravity inside a dome that they may be more at home in a rocket ship than Earth people would be. After all, it only takes days to reach the Moon, but it will take many months, or even years, to reach the other planets. Can humans stay cooped up in a rocket ship for months and years when they are used to a great wide-open world? Maybe Moon colonists will be needed to command the ships.

Most of all, though, if the Moon colony works, it will show us how to run an ecology properly, how to make every bit of air and water and energy do its work, and how to keep from spoiling and ruining the environment. Humans will have to learn that lesson before it is too late.

Difficulty Level 15

Herbie's Ride

And so it was that Herbie's Ride came into being after all. Four days ago it had been a cloudy notion in a young boy's mind, a ridiculous dream of a rowboat on wheels coasting downhill. Now, real and working, the slide dominated the landscape of the girls' camp. Elmer added a handsome frill: an archway at the top, bearing the words "HERBIE'S RIDE" cut out of a semicircular frame of cardboard in letters a foot high, with bright red electric lights behind it. Delighted with his handiwork, he drove hastily into town and returned with an electric interrupter switch which he attached to the lights. When dusk fell and the boys and girls turned out in gay costumes for Mardi Gras, this sign, flashing on and off, on and off, was a striking sight. It was the first thing visitors saw, driving into the camp or crossing from the boys' grounds to girls' lawn. There was nothing as splendid anywhere else in Manitou. When the other booths, games, rides, and entertainments had hardly been visited, a line of twenty children and adults already stretched before the Ride.

Directly under the archway stood Herbie in Elmer's sailor cap and blouse. The cap tended to drop down over his ears, and the blouse was loose enough to have held Cliff inside it, too, but the nautical effect was fine nevertheless. At first Herbie made a few efforts in the way of a cry: "Step right up, folks, best ride you ever been on! Slip down the slide on the slippery slope for only a quarter, twenty-five cents, the fourth part of a dollar," and so forth. But within a few minutes, with two dozen paid passengers waiting their turns, more coming each moment, a large crowd watching the Ride and exclaiming in admiration, the cry seemed unnecessary, and he gave it up.

Thereafter the night was one of swimming pleasure for him. Money and congratulations poured in. Many passengers came up the hill from their first ride and walked into line for another. The Ride went smooth as oil. Ted and Felicia stayed in the rowboat, paddling it back to shore. Cliff and Clever Sam accomplished recovery with more and more ease as the evening wore on. Herbie collected fares and stored them in a cigar box, and tied up and released the boat with a slipknot, as Elmer had taught him. All four children felt the luxurious pride of participation in a great success, and even Clever Sam was in mellow good humor, and accepted much petting and light thwacks from the onlookers with friendly rolls of the eyes.

In this hour of exalted happiness Herbie's conscience packed up and departed. He amassed fifty dollars in less than two hours. The "borrowing" episode would be erased from the Book of Sins in the morning. The curse was forgotten. All was well. "Boy, you win Skipper sure!" was said to him perhaps a hundred times. Vision and enterprise had carried the day. Heaven had decided mercifully that stealing wasn't really stealing sometimes, and had suspended the Eighth Commandment for Herbie Bookbinder's benefit. What a wonderful old world it was, to be sure!

Yes, and even Lucille came around. Herbie's triumph had been in swing for three hours, and he was quite drunk with praise and profits, when he felt a timid tug at his oversize sleeve.

"Congratulations, Herbie," said a caroling voice.

The boy looked round at a beautiful little red-headed pirate dressed in a ragged gold shirt, a crimson sash, and short black trousers carefully torn at the bottom. She carried a little dagger and wore a black silk patch over one eye, but the other eye shone with enough admiration and love for two. Herbie, who had thought yesterday he was cured of his romantic affliction, suddenly wondered if he really was. Lucille, the radiant Lucille, was humbling herself to him, and it was a sweet sensation.

"'Lo, Lucille. 'Scuse me a minute."

He made change for a batch of eight passengers as they boarded the boat, and flourished the cigar box so that Lucille had a long look at its overflowing green and silver contents. Then he pulled the rope with careless ease, and the boat thundered away down the slope.

"Gosh, Herbie." The girl's voice was awed, crushed. "However did you think up such a thing? You're wonderful!"

"Aw, Elmer Bean an' Cliff done it all. I ain't so hot," said Herbie. He paused, glanced at her hand and, as it were, took aim. Then he slowly added, "*I can't even dip*."

The pirate's cheeks all at once became the color of her sash. She pulled the patch off her face, evidently judging she needed both eyes for the work at hand, and said softly, looking at him with innocent appeal, "Herbie, I'm sorry I been so bad to you. You know what, I haven't even talked to Lennie all night. Except once he wanted to take me on your ride, an' I said I wanted to go alone."

Herbie's congealed affections were melting in the warmth of her voice, low musical, almost whispering. But he called up the memory of his injuries and said indifferently, "Wanna ride now?"

"Yes, Herbie."

"O.K. You kin go free. An' you don't hafta wait in line."

The flashing sign showed surprise, darkness, disappointment, darkness, then a winsome smile that remained on the girl's face through several flashes. "Won't you come with me?"

"Heck, no, Lucille. See, I gotta take care o' the finances."

"Oh. Maybe after a while you'll come to the dancing at the social hall. I'd like to dance with you."

"Maybe."

Lucille fell silent, and watched Clever Sam towing the rowboat back to the top. Herbie made a great show of counting the money -

there was a hundred seven dollars now - and wished Lucille would grovel a little more; but she didn't. So he said at last, "How's the rest of the Mardigrass, Lucille? I ain't had a chance to see it."

"Terrible. Everybody says your ride is the only good thing."

"How's Yishy's freak show?"

The girl sniffed contemptuously in answer.

"What's Lennie doing?"

"Oh, he's got a baseball suit on with 'New York Yankees' on it, an' a pillow in his stomach, an' goes around saying he's Babe Ruth. What a dumb idea!"

Herbie silently compared this inspiration with his own, and concluded that there were rare moments when brawn did not automatically rule the world. It did not occur to him that Lennie, at least, had not stolen the baseball suit.

The row boat came creaking to the top of the slide. Herbie lashed it to the stake as Cliff freed Clever Sam.. Then he gallantly handed Lucille into the boat, while several boys and girls waiting in line squealed a protest. Felicia, sitting in the bow, looked around, and said, "Humph! Starting all over again." She threw down her paddle and stepped out of the boat.

"Hey, Fleece, where you goin'?" said Herbie.

"As long as we're getting romantic again," snapped his sister as she stalked away, "I'm going to dance for a while at the social hall."

"Never mind, Herbie." Ted spoke up from the stern. "I can handle it myself."

"Thank you for the ride, Herbie. I hope I'll see you later," said Lucille demurely. Now the other passangers piled in, thrusting money at the boy. Lucille all the while gazed up at him worshipfully. Herbie felt foolish and happy and warm, and at the pinnacle of life and time. It was with reluctance that he tripped the rope and sent the boat rumbling downhill with its [illegible] burden.

Not long afterward three prolonged blasts of Uncle Sandy's whistle echoed through the camp, signaling the end of the Mardi Gras. Grumbling, a line of about a dozen passengers disbanded, all of them campers awaiting a second or third ride, except for a stout lady from the village with a dismal white-headed child. Herbie counted the receipts again while Ted beached the boat and Cliff returned the horse to the stable. Felicia came up from the dance in a glowing, happy mood. When all the colleagues were gathered again under the flashing sign, Herbie announced gaily the income from their labors: a hundred thirteen dollars and fifty cents.

"Holy smoke, we're rich," said Ted.

"How do we divvy it?" said Felicia.

"First of all I owe seventy-five bucks for materials," said Herbie. The others nodded. "That still leaves almost forty bucks, or ten bucks apiece."

Mr. Gauss appeared out of the darkness, smiling broadly. He was carrying half a dozen cigar boxes similar to the one in Herbie's hands.

"Well, well, the gold mine," he said cheerfully. "Let me have your box, Herbie. I'll keep it in the safe overnight for you. I'm doing the same for all the boys that made any real money."

"Gee, thanks, Mr. Gauss," said Herbie, huddling the box protectingly against his side, "but I can take care of it O.K."

"Nonsense, my boy. We don't want to tempt sneak thieves, you know." He grasped the box firmly and pried it out of Herbie's arms. "The safe is the only place for so much money as you made. I'll send for you first thing in the morning and return it to you. Congratulations, all of you!" He walked off toward the guest house.

"Good-bye, hundred thirteen bucks," croaked Ted, loud enough for the camp owner to hear him, but Mr. Gauss padded obliviously away.

"G'wan," said Herbie. "He wouldn't take that money for himself."

"He couldn't!" said Felicia.

Cliff asid, "Even Mr. Gauss ain't that low. He'll give us some back, anyway."

"O.K., O.K.," said Ted, "I been at this camp a long time. If we see a nickel o' that dough again, it'll be a miracle."

"He's gotta gimme back the seventy-five bucks for material!" said Herbie. "I owe it."

"Don't be silly," exclaimed Felicia fretfully. "What are you boys talking about? He's got to give us back all of it. You talk as though there was a question about it. Is he a robber? It's our money, not his. How can he possibly keep a penny of it?"

Ted looked sidelong at her out of one eye, like a rooster. "This is my sixth year at Manitou," he said. "Inside that box is money, an' outside that box is Mr. Gauss. All there is between 'em is a lid. It ain't enough.... Well, it was fun anyhow." He shrugged. "More fun than I ever had in this hell-hole. Thanks for lettin' me in on it, Herb."

"Aw, yer crazy, Ted," Herbie began, but the bugle sounded retreat, and on this foreboding note of Ted's they were compelled to part.

A few minutes later the boys of Bunk Thirteen sat around their cots in pajamas, awaiting Uncle Sandy's announcement of the Skipper-for-a-Day.

"Who you gonna appoint for Uncle Sandy, Herb?" said Lennie deferentially.

"Heck, Lennie, I ain't won yet."

"You won. Nobody else can possibly win."

The other boys voiced a chorus of assents to this. They were proud of Herbie now. Boys from other bunks were shouting congratulations through the screen.

"Well, let's wait till he announces it, anyhow," said Herbie.

Uncle Sid said, "I'm proud of you, Herbie, I really am. What you did was remarkable. You have a great future."

He puffed anxiously at a forbidden cigarette held in the hollow of his hand. Poor Uncle Sid was actually tense and nervous on Herbie's behalf.

A preliminary blast of Uncle Sandy's unmistakable whistle came from outer darkness, and cut dead all conversation. His voice boomed out of a megaphone.

"Now the announcement you've all been waiting for. The judges - Aunt Tillie, the Skipper, and myself - had a tough time deciding among the many excellent entries, two in particular that you all know about.

"The Skipper of the Day is" - a long agonizing pause; then hurriedly - "Yishy Gabelson for his freak show, with special honorable mention to Herbie Bookbinder for his excellent ride. That's all."

But that was not all. Cries from every bungalow along Company Street tore the night.

"Boo!"

"Gyps!"

"Robbers!"

"General Garbage won!"

"Crooks!"

The whistle blew furiously several times and quieted the din.

"Now, cut that out!" roared the head counselor. "You're not at home yet, you're still in camp. It isn't what you want, it's what we decide that goes here!"

This was a provocative announcement that Uncle Sandy might have spared himself. But he was angry, and feeling guilty, too, to tell the truth, so he acted with poor judgment.

"Yah!"

"Boo!"

"Ssss!"

"You bet it ain't what we want!"

"It ain't never what we want!"

"Let's hang Uncle Gussie to a sour-apple tree!"

These and forty other insolent cries were flung through the screens. Confused and at a loss, Uncle Sandy stepped back into his tent. Meantime, Ted in Bunk Thirteen jumped from his bed and seized a tin pan and spoon from his hiking pack.

"Don't worry, General," he grated to the dumbfounded pallid Herbie. "This is one time Uncle Gussie don't get away with it."

"Ted! You come back here!" exclaimed Uncle Sid, but Ted was already outside and marching up Company Street alone, beating the tin pan rhythmically and shouting, "We want Herbie! We want Herbie!" This was all the spark that was needed. In a twinkling twenty boys were in the street banging resounding objects - a glass, a drum, a tin canteen, and even a washtub were among them - and chanting, "We want Herbie!" The counselors were powerless to stop the eruption, and none of them particularly wanted to stop it. By the time the howling crowd of boys in pajamas had reached Uncle Sandy's tent their number included almost the whole camp. They milled under the large white electric light that hung on a pole at the end of the street, and chanted and yelled in a way to frighten the cloud of bugs that danced overhead.

Inside the hot yellow tent sat Mr. Gauss and the two head counselors, with sullen expressions.

"I say again, Sandy," spoke out the camp owner, "are you going to do nothing about this breakdown of discipline?"

"Skipper, I'm just one man. The counselors should have stopped it before it got started. Evidently they feel the same way I do, and I - "

The bulky form of Yishy Gabelson catapulted into the tent, crowding it uncomfortably.

"Uncle Sandy, Mr. Gauss, you can't do it to me. Them guys out there are ready to jump me. You know that kid won!" stammered the Super-senior, in a sweat.

"Now, Yishy, don't be childish," said Mr. Gauss. "Your freak show was admirable. And anyway, you know it's impossible to let an Intermediate be Skipper. It's too risky."

"You shoulda thought of that when you made up the contest!"

shouted Yishy. "You shoulda said no Intermediates allowed to compete. It's too late to go makin' up rules now, Mr. Gauss. That kid won and you know it. You can do what you like, but I ain't gonna be your Skipper. I'm no crook!"

He bolted from the tent and the three judges heard him yell above the din that greeted him, "I tole 'em! I tole 'em I wouldn't take it!" Thereupon the jeers changed to shouts of approval, and merged into a tremendous chant: "We want Herbie! We want Herbie!"

"It seems to me, Mr. Gauss," said Uncle Sandy, wiping his thick glasses with a handkerchief and laying emphasis on the camp owner's last name, "that we have a choice of calling off Campers' Day or giving Skipper to Herbie Bookbinder."

"Nonsense. They'll forget all about it after a night's sleep. We'll give them ice cream for lunch," said Mr. Gauss.

"So far as I'm concerned," said Aunt Tillie sourly, "the boy obviously did win. I simply went along with the Skipper's insistence that we needed an older boy to run the camp."

"You haven't got the older boy any more," observed Uncle Sandy.

"We want Herbie! We want Herbie!" came with undiminished gusto from outside, accompanied by bangs, rattles, clanks, and stamping.

Mr. Gauss looked from one head counselor to another. He saw two decidedly hostile faces.

"In view of the fact that I have no support from you, who should give it to me," he said, "I seem compelled to abandon the only sensible policy. Do as you please, Uncle Sandy, on your own responsibility. I have no more to say."

"Do we call off the Campers' Day, sir, or give Skipper to the boy?"

"I have no more to say."

Uncle Sandy stepped out of the tent. The mob of boys sensed news, and the chant died. The head counselor squinted around at the strange sight of his campers herded together in night clothes, in complete disorder. In the center of the crowd Herbie Bookbinder loomed high, naked except for white drawers, perched on the shoulders of Yishy and three other Seniors. When Sandy saw the fat boy thus glorified, he burst out laughing. "Come down, Herbie you win. You're Skipper!" he shouted, and continued his good-natured guffawing.

Great yells of triumph went up. Though the boys knew nothing of what had passed in the tent, they gathered from Uncle Sandy's manner that the change was as welcome to him as to them, and they pressed around him to shake his hand and pound him lovingly with their fists. The four Seniors who were holding Herbie up commenced dancing, and nearly dropped the hero of the evining several times. Cries of congratulation, good wishes, and admiration came up to the erstwhile General Garbage from every side, and they were all addressed to "Herbie."

Under no circumstances but these could he have received such an ovation, which exceeded anything that Lennie or Yishy had ever received for athletic prowess. He had become the symbol of resistance to Mr. Gauss, and in his victory every boy felt that throwing off of the yoke from his own shoulders. It was a brief temporary success, to be sure - tomorrow the heavy Gauss rules and edicts would be in force as always - but once, at least once, Uncle Gussie had been forced to give ground. "Hooray for Herbie! Hooray for Herbie!" cheered the boys, with all their hearts and lungs.

And herbie, bouncing and swaying on his perilous perch under the glare of the lamp amid the dating insects, surrounded by a host of friendly, admiring, upturned faces, his ears ringing with cheers and praise, felt warm tears of joy and wonder trickling down his face. None of his many daydreams of triumph had ever been as sweet as this. "There is no man that has not his hour, and no thing that has not its place." General Garbage, the fat, the unathletic, the despised, had come into his hour at last.

LAGUNA

Reader 44, 2nd Date Selection D.L.9 Teacher Class School

Miscue Number	Reader	Text	DIALECT 1	INTONATION 2	GRAPHIC SIMILARITY 3 Y	GRAPHIC SIMILARITY 3 P	GRAPHIC SIMILARITY 3 N	SOUND SIMILARITY 4 Y	SOUND SIMILARITY 4 P	SOUND SIMILARITY 4 N	GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION 5 Y	GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION 5 P	GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION 5 N	CORRECTION 6	GRAMMATICAL ACCEPTABILITY 7	SEMANTIC ACCEPTABILITY 8	MEANING CHANGE 9	COMPREHENSION No Loss	COMPREHENSION Partial Loss	COMPREHENSION Loss	GRAMMATICAL RELATIONSHIPS Strength	GRAMMATICAL RELATIONSHIPS Partial Strength	GRAMMATICAL RELATIONSHIPS Weakness	GRAMMATICAL RELATIONSHIPS Overcorrection
					11					3														
1	[illegible]	[illegible]				✓			✓		✓			N	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓	
2	[illegible]	[illegible]				✓			✓					N	N	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓	
3	because	because			✓			✓					✓	N	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓	
4	[illegible]	[illegible]					✓	✓			✓			[illegible]	N	[illegible]	P	✓			✓			
5	[illegible]	[illegible]							✓				✓	[illegible]	N	N	Y	✓			✓			
6	[illegible]	[illegible]												[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Y	✓			✓			
7	[illegible]	business			✓				✓				✓	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	✓		✓	✓		✓	
8	[illegible]	[illegible]												[illegible]	Y	[illegible]	[illegible]	✓			✓			
9	[illegible]	—												[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Y	✓			✓			
10	[illegible]	[illegible]				✓			✓		✓			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Y							
11	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓					✓	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓	
12	[illegible]	[illegible]				✓				✓			✓	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	P			✓			✓	
13	[illegible]	[illegible]												[illegible]	Y	[illegible]	[illegible]	✓					✓	
14	[illegible]	[illegible]				✓				✓			✓	[illegible]	Y	[illegible]	N	✓			✓			
15	[illegible]	Sometimes			✓			✓			✓			[illegible]	Y	[illegible]	[illegible]	✓			✓			
16	Thing	[illegible]			✓							✓		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	✓			✓			
17	—	Then												[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	✓			✓			
18	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓			✓			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Y		✓					✓
19	—	It			✓			✓					✓	N	N	N	Y			✓			✓	
20	The	every					✓			✓			✓	N	N	N	Y			✓			✓	
21	[illegible]	by			✓			✓					✓	N	N	N	Y			✓			✓	
22	[illegible]	[illegible]						✓			✓			N	Y	Y	P		✓		✓			
23	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓			✓			N	N	N	N						✓	
24	[illegible]	[illegible]				✓			✓		✓			N	Y	Y	N	✓			✓			
25	[illegible]	[illegible]			✓			✓					✓	N	N	N	Y			✓			✓	
		COLUMN TOTAL												COLUMN TOTAL										
		PERCENTAGE												PERCENTAGE										
		QUESTION TOTAL												PATTERN TOTAL										

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Sample Coding Sheet for Miscue Analysis

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